

THE
ROMAN HISTORY

BY

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WITH THE

ENTIRE SUPPLEMENT

OF

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Translated into ENGLISH, and illustrated with
geographical and chronological Notes.

V O L. III.



L O N D O N :

Printed by JAMES BETTENHAM,

And sold by J. CLARKE, under the *Royal Exchange*; C. HITCH,
in *Pater-noster Row*; G. HAWKINS, between the *Temple*
Gates; A. MILLAR, in the *Strand*; and W. MILLAR,
Bookseller at *Edinburg*. M.DCC.XLIV.



T H E
R O M A N H I S T O R Y
B Y
T I T U S L I V I U S *of Padua.*

D E C A D E I. B O O K IX.

WHILST these things passed at Rome, the CHAP.
 Hetrurians had already laid siege to Su- XXXV.
 trium; and when the consul Fabius was leading his
 army along the foot of the mountains to assist his
 allies and attack the lines of the besiegers, if he
 should by any means find it practicable, he observed
 the enemy's army marching towards him in or-
 der of battle. As the large plain, which they co-
 vered, convinced him of their vast numbers, the
 consul, to balance this advantage and make amends
 for the weakness of his troops, by putting them in a
 convenient post, turned aside a little to a rough
 and stony ground on the side of the hills, and then
 faced about towards the enemy. The Hetrurians,
 thinking of nothing but their vast numbers, which
 was the only thing they had to trust to, began the
 attack with such eagerness and precipitation, that
 throwing down their missile weapons, that they
 might the sooner come to close engagement, they
 drew their swords and made up to the enemy. The
 Romans on the other hand threw sometimes darts
 and sometimes stones, which the place where they
 stood supplied them with in great abundance; and
 these falling upon the enemy's shields and helmets put
 them into confusion, where they did no other exe-
 cution.

CHAP. cution. For the Hetrurians were in such a situation
 XXXV. that they could not get at their enemies to engage
 them hand to hand, nor had they javelins to annoy
 them at a distance. So that they stood exposed
 without any thing that could effectually cover them,
 and even some began to retire. Upon which the
 Roman hastati and principes set up a fresh shout,
 and fell upon them sword in hand while they were
 in a kind of suspense, and at a loss whether to ad-
 vance or retreat: and as they could not stand the
 shock of this vigorous attack, they turned their
 backs and fled towards their camp. But finding the
 Roman cavalry had fetch'd a compass over the plain
 and were ready to meet them, they dropt their first
 design of retreating to their camp, and fled to the
 mountains. From thence they escaped to the Cimi-
 nian forest ^a with very few arms and severely galled
 by their wounds. Whilst the Romans, after they
 had slain many thousands of the Hetrurians, and
 taken eight and thirty standards, made themselves
 masters of their camp with a vast booty, and then
 began to think of pursuing the enemy.

CHAP. THE Ciminian forest was at that time more un-
 XXXVI. passable and frightful than the forests of Germany
 were of late ^b. None, even of the merchants, had
 to that day attempted to pass through it, and there
 was no person but the general himself could bear the
 thoughts of entering it; for all the rest had the dis-
 asters they had suffered at the passes of Caudium ^c
 fresh in their memory. However one who assisted

^a Ciminus, or Ciminia, is a com-
 mon name the ancient geographers
 give a forest, a mount, and a lake.
 The Ciminian hill, or Ciminus Mons,
 is now called Monte di Viterbo, or
 Monte Fogliano, between Viterbo,
 and Ronciglione. The lake is now
 called Lago di Vico, or Lago di
 Ronciglione; but there are now no
 remains left of the forest. The coun-
 try is very open, except near the
 mount, where there are some woods.
 Virgil mentions the mount and lake
 Ciminus, *Æneid.* 7.

*Et Cimini, cum Monte, Lacum,
 Lucosque Capenos.*

The lake is but small; yet it is very
 rough, at some seasons. Ammianus
 Marcellinus, b. xvii. tells us, that
 the ancient city of Succinium was
 swallowed up by it; and that the
 neighbouring country was much sub-
 ject to earthquakes. The fables Ser-
 vius relates of the lake Ciminus,
 are not worth the reader's notice.

^b See book v. chap. 33. p. 110. n. c.

^c See chap. i, ii, iii. of this book

at the council of war, some historians say it was M. Fabius Cæso, the consul's brother, others C. Claudius, who was only the consul's brother by the mother's side, offered to go and reconnoitre the place, and return very soon with genuine and particular accounts. He had been educated at Cære^d with some intimate friends of the family there, by which means he had been trained up in the learning of the Hetrurians, and perfectly acquainted with their language. Some authors assert that it was as customary at that time, to instruct the Roman youth in the learning of the Hetrurians, as it is now to initiate them in that of the Greeks; but it is more probable that a person who had the courage to venture himself amidst enemies with a design to betray them, must have been master of some particular and uncommon talents. It is supposed he was attended only with one slave, who had been educated along with him, and by that means was well acquainted with the same language. And it was their sole employment upon their journey to make themselves masters of the nature of the country in general to which they were going, and the names of the most considerable nations in it; that in their conversation with the inhabitants they might not be discovered by their ignorance of the most remarkable circumstances. They went disguised in the habit of shepherds, and armed, as the country people used to be, with scythes and two heavy javelins a piece, but their security was not so much owing to their acquaintance with the language of the country, as to the persuasion of the natives, that no stranger would have the courage to enter the Ciminian forest. It is reported they went as far as the nation of the Umbrians, called the Camertes,^e and there the Roman discovered who they were, was introduced into the senate, and in the consul's name, proposed a treaty of friendship and

^d See Vol. i. p. 7. note c.^e They inhabited Camarinum, a city on the borders of Picenum, ten miles from the city of Septempeda,

between Fulginium to the south, Nuceria to the west, and Tollentium to the east.

CHAP. alliance with their state. Upon this he was re-
 xxxvi. ceived into their houses with great civility, and
 bid to inform the consul, that in case he should
 march his army into these parts, they would furnish
 him with provisions for thirty days, and all the
 youth belonging to the Camertin Umbrians should
 be ready armed to obey his orders. The consul,
 having got information of these things, sent his bag-
 gage before by the first watch of the night, and or-
 dered the legions to follow whilst he staid himself
 with the cavalry, and next morning rode about the
 enemy's advanced guards which were posted without
 the forest. When he had thus amused them long
 enough, he returned to his camp, marched out at
 the opposite gate, and before night came up with the
 rest of the army. Next morning by day-break he
 got to the top of the Ciminian mountain, and from
 thence having taken a full view of the rich plains of
 Hetruria, sent out parties to plunder them. After
 they had carried off a very large booty, they were
 met by some cohorts of Hetrurian peasants, whom
 the chief men of the country had raised in haste,
 but in such disorder, that they who came to recover
 the booty taken by the Romans, had very near
 become a prey themselves. For the latter hav-
 ing either slain or put to flight all this tumultuary
 army, and pillaged their lands all round the country,
 they returned to their camp victorious and enriched
 with great abundance of all sorts of plunder. Here
 they found five deputies and two tribunes of the
 people, who had been sent in the senate's name, to
 prohibit Fabius to attempt to pass the Ciminian fo-
 rest. But as it gave them great joy that they had
 come too late to prevent the expedition, so they re-
 turned to Rome with the news of this signal victory
 obtained by the arms of the state.

CHAP. THIS expedition of the consul's rather spread
 xxxvii. the flame of war further than put an end to it, for
 all the country lying near the foot of the Ciminian
 mountain were very sensible of the havock which
 had

had been made in their lands, and in resentment of the injury, had put in motion not only the nations of He- truria, but also all those on the borders of Umbria, so that a greater army marched to Sutrium than ever had been seen there before : nor did they satisfy them- selves with encamping in the woods, but their impa- tience for a battle led them to come down into the plains, and then drawing up in order, at first stood in a proper post, leaving the enemy a sufficient space before them for to form themselves ; but when they found that the Romans declined bat- tle, they advanced to their lines, and finding that the advanced guards were also posted under the cover of their works, they immediately set up a great shout round their generals, and demanded with importunity, that they would order their provisions for that day to be brought them out of their camp, for they would stand under their arms till night, and then, or at least by day-break, attack the enemy's camp. Nor was the Roman army less impatient, but their general's authority kept them within their lines, till about four o'clock afternoon, when he or- dered them to refresh themselves and be ready in arms against any hour of the day or night wherein he should chuse to give them the signal of battle. Then he made them a short speech, wherein he magnified the Samnites and depressed the Hetrurians, as much inferior to them both in numbers and valor. Be- sides he told them he had another effectual means to ruin the enemy, which he should afterwards let them know, but in the mean time it must be kept as an impenetrable secret. By this sly insinuation he in- tended they should believe the Hetrurians were be- trayed, that by this persuasion the troops, who were terrified at the vast numbers of the opposite army, might recover their spirits ; and the pretence looked the more specious, as the enemy had drawn no en- trenchments round their camp. Having therefore refreshed themselves they went to rest, and being waked without noise or confusion at the fourth watch, put themselves in arms. Axes were distri- buted.

CHAP.
xxxvii.

CHAP. buted to the soldiers servants, to cut the pali-
 XXXVII. fades and fill up the trenches, while the troops were
 forming themselves within the lines. Some select
 cohorts were also posted before the gates, and some
 time after, when the palisades were pulled down,
 he gave the signal and the army marched out of
 their camp a little before day-break, which in the
 summer nights is the time when men generally sleep
 soundest. They found the Hetrurians all in bed, and
 made terrible slaughter among them; some were
 slain fast asleep, others half awake before they could
 get out of bed, but the greatest part while they
 were hurrying to their arms. And even those few
 who had time to take them, as they had no distinct
 signal given them, nor knew what officers to follow,
 were soon routed, and closely pursued by the Roman
 cavalry. Some fled to the woods, and others to their
 own camp. The former took the safest course, for
 their camp was taken that very day, and the consul
 ordered all the gold and silver to be brought to his
 own quarters, but gave the rest of the booty to the
 troops. The number of those that were slain or
 taken prisoners that day, amounted to sixty thou-
 sand men. Some authors assert that this famous bat-
 tle was fought at Perugia on the other side of the Ci-
 minian forest, and that the city was in great pain for
 fear their army should be shut up in that dangerous
 place. But wherever the armies engaged, it is cer-
 tain the Romans obtained a complete victory. For
 in consequence of the advantage gained upon this
 occasion, ambassadors came to Rome from Perugia,
 Cortona and Aretium, which were almost all the ca-
 pital cities of the Hetrurian nations at that time, to
 demand a treaty of peace and alliance, and obtain-
 ed a truce for thirty years.

CHAP. W H I L S T these things passed in Hetruria,
 XXXVIII. the other consul C. Marcius Rutilus took Alifæ from
 the Samnites by storm, and many other small places
 and forts were either razed to the ground or delivered
 up to the Romans, and preserved as their own pro-
 perty.

perty. About the same time the Roman fleet commanded by P. Cornelius, whom the senate had made governor of the sea coasts, sailed for Campania, and being arrived at Pompeii, the sailors made a descent to lay waste the territory of Lucerium. When they had pillaged, in a great hurry, the most adjacent places, from whence they had a safe retreat to their ships; the allurements of plunder, as it commonly happens, tempted them to venture further into the country, and thereby roused their enemies. However, while they were dispersed in the fields no body offered to attack them, though even then they might have easily been cut to pieces; but while they were returning in great security, and had got very near to their ships, a company of peasants came up with them, deprived them of their booty, and put a part of them to the sword, while the rest in great consternation got safe on board their fleet. The news of Q. Fabius's march through the Ciminian forest, spread not greater terror at Rome, than it did joy among his enemies in Samnium. "They said the Roman army was invested and
 " blocked up at that place, and like to be exposed
 " to the same disasters they had formerly suffered at
 " the forks of Caudium. For being a nation always
 " fond of pushing their conquests, the same rashness
 " had now led them into an impracticable forest,
 " where they were as effectually blocked up by
 " the intricacy of the place, as by the arms of
 " their enemies." Their joy was also blended with a sort of envy, that fortune had deprived themselves of the honor of giving such a turn to the war with the Romans, and given it to the Hetrurians. Therefore they mustered up all their force, and went in quest of C. Marcius the consul, with an intention to cut his army to pieces, or if he should decline battle, to march through the country of the Marfi ^a and Sabines into Hetruria.

B 4

But

^a According to Gellianus, an old author, whom Pliny the naturalist quotes, b. iii. c. 12. the Marfi came originally from Lydia. A company of Lydians, says he, came into this country, under the command of Marfyas.

CHAP. But the consul having advanced to meet them, a
 XXXVIII. bloody battle ensued, wherein there was great loss
 sustained on both sides, and the victory doubtful. Yet though the slaughter was nearly equal in both armies, the prevailing report gave it against the Romans, because they lost several knights, some legionary tribunes, one lieutenant general, and, which made the greatest impression of all, the consul himself was wounded. As these circumstances not only seemed to confirm, but even increase the report, the fathers in great consternation came to a resolution for naming a dictator, and no body doubted but Papirius Cursor, who was looked upon to be the most considerable captain they had, would be elected. But as all the roads were guarded by the Samnites, they had reason to doubt whether the senate's declaration could be safely conveyed to the camp, and even supposing this, they were at a loss whether the consul Marcius was yet alive. Fabius the other consul had a private quarrel with Papirius, and therefore that his resentment might not stand in the way of the public interest, the senate resolved to send a deputation of some of their own members of consular dignity to entreat him, that not only out of regard to the public authority, but also to private friendship, he would sacrifice his resentment to the

Marsyas their leader. They built, in this province, the city of Archippe, which was swallowed up by the lake Fucinus, made all on a sudden, in the same place where the city stood. *Gellianus Auctor est Lacu Fucino haustum Marsorum oppidum Archippen, conditum a Marsya duce Lydorum.* And Solinus, the abridger of Pliny, says the same thing, c. viii. *Quis ignorat conditam Archippen a Marsya rege Lydorum, quod oppidum biatu terræ haustum dissolutum est in Lacum Fucinum.* Virgil. *Æneid.* b. vii. speaks of one Archippus, who governed the nation of the Marfi. But Silius pretends they were originally Phrygians. And we think the fables some old writers have told about these people, whom they derive from a son

of Circe, unworthy of a place in this history. We rather incline to believe, with some others, that the Marfi were formerly a part of the Sabines. Festus is of this opinion, when he gives us to understand that they spoke the same language. At least, he says, the name of the Hernici was borrowed from the rocks they inhabited: and Servius and Festus agree, that Herna signified the same thing in the language of the Marfi and Sabines, as Saxa does in Latin. Their first leader is said to have been one Marrus, who founded Marrubium, their capital. Their country is at present a part of the Further Abruzzo, near the lake Celano, formerly called the lake Fucinus.

interest

interest of the state. Those deputies having delivered the senate's order to the consul, and seconded it with a speech suitable to the occasion, he fixed his eyes for some time on the ground, and then without speaking a word, left them at a loss to know what part he intended to act. However about midnight, according to custom, he named L. Papirius dictator: but when the deputies came to return him thanks for having so gloriously conquered his passion, he continued fixed in the same obstinate silence, and dismissed them without returning an answer, or taking the least notice of what he had done, so that it was easy to see what strong efforts he used to prevent the effects of his extreme resentment. Papirius chose C. Junius Bubulcus for general of the horse, and when he laid his commission before the people assembled by wards, for their approbation and order to take upon him the command of the army, a bad omen obliged him to put off the affair to another day, for the first vote fell to the ward called Fautia. It had been remarked that the same had happened in the two years of greatest calamity to the Romans, that in which their city was sacked by the Gauls, and that wherein the peace of Caudium was concluded. Licinius Macer asserts that it was also deemed unlucky, because the same thing had happened at the time of the disaster which the Romans sustained at Cremera^a.

CHAP.
XXXVIII.L. Papirius
Cursor, dic-
tator, C.
Junius Bu-
bulcus, ge-
neral of the
horse.

NEXT day the dictator, having repeated the auspices, and got his bill passed, marched with the legions lately raised upon occasion of the alarm at Rome, when they heard that their army had passed the Ciminian forest, and arrived at Longula. And Marcius the consul having delivered up to him the command of the veteran troops, he led his army to the field. Nor did the enemy seem to decline the engagement; but after both sides were armed and drawn up in order of battle, neither would begin the attack, till night came on and

CHAP.
XXXIX.^a See Vol. I. page 197.

CHAP.

xxxix.

parted them : they continued in this peaceable state for some time, and as neither was diffident of their own strength, nor despised that of their enemy, they encamped in the neighborhood of one another. Mean time the war was carried on with vigor in Hetruria. For the Umbrian army was defeated in a pitched battle, yet the rout was more considerable than the execution done among the enemy, because though they began the fight with vigor, they had not resolution to maintain it. And the Hetrurians having got together an army by means of their sacred law, according to which one man chose another so long as there were any remaining, gave the Romans battle at the lake of ^a Vadimonis, with a greater army than they had ever brought to the field before, as well as greater courage than they had discovered on any former occasion. For such was the rage and impatience of both armies, that they neither made use of their javelins or darts, but begun the engagement with their swords. Victory seemed to hover for some considerable time, but this circumstance was so far from abating the uncommon ardor which both discovered at their first meeting, that it enflamed it still the more ; so that the Romans imagined they were not now dealing with the Hetrurians, whom they had so often defeated, but some new nation to which they had hitherto been absolute strangers. Neither side entertained the least thoughts of retreating, but when the first ranks were cut down, the second, that the standards might not be left defenceless, advanced and took their posts. These in their turn were succeeded by the bodies of reserve, so long as they could last, till in the end matters were brought to such extremity of distress and danger, that the Roman cavalry dismounted and advanced, over the arms and bodies of the slain, to the post which had been occupied by the foremost ranks of the foot. This body of men, like a fresh army, falling upon faint and wearied troops, put the Hetrurian squadrons into disorder ; and the rest of the

^a See book xi. ch. iv. n. b.

the troops, however spent with fatigue and wounds, coming up to second their attack, broke through the enemy's line. Upon this the resolution of the Hetrurians began to fail them, some squadrons were observed to lose ground, and when they once turned their backs, the rest also fled apace. This was the day that first crushed the great power of the Hetrurians, which had been flourishing for many ages ; for the whole strength of that nation was cut off in the battle, and their camp was at the same time taken and plundered.

CHAP.

XXXIX.

THE war with the Samnites, soon after exposed the Romans to the same dangers with that in Hetruria, and was equally glorious for them in the event. For that people, besides their other warlike preparations, gave their army an uncommon lustre by the brightness and beauty of their armor. They had two different armies. All the shields of the one were gilt with gold, and those in the other with silver, but these shields were all so contrived that the upper parts designed for the defence of the head and shoulders were of an equal breadth, and from thence downward they grew gradually narrower and approached to the form of a wedge, that they might be moved with the greater ease. The soldiers had cuirasses made of sponges ^a to cover their breasts, and greaves on their left legs ^b, their helmets also were

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^a Others understand by this Spongia, a coat of mail, or vest of flax, well quilted ; like that used by the Macedonians, Thracians, Spaniards, and Falisci. Such was that worn by Amasis king of Egypt ; every stitch of his tunick consisted, according to Pliny, b. xv. ch. i. of three hundred and sixty-five threads. It was kept as a curiosity in the temple of Minerva, in the island of Rhodes. Some by the word spongia understand, a tunic made of felt, or wool worked close together, as in our hats, to make it the more hard and impenetrable. Pliny says, that this sort of cuirass, soaked in vinegar, was proof against darts and swords.

^b Polybius, speaking of the offensive and defensive arms of the Roman soldiers, gives those in the legions only one boot apiece ; and Vegetius confirms it, adding, that this boot was to be worn by them only on the right leg ; whereas the Samnites, as Livy observes, wore it on the left. Regard was had in it, to the different situation of the combatants. The boot was of most use, when worn after the Samnite manner, in the skirmishes between the armies, wherein they fought only with their arrows ; for which Vegetius gives this reason. When a soldier, says he, put himself into a posture to shoot his arrow, he was forced

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XL.



were crested to make their stature appear to advantage. Those whose shields were gilt with gold were clothed in coats of sundry colors, but those who had the silver gilt armor in white linen, and the latter had the right, whereas the former were posted on the left wing of the army. The Romans were soon apprised of these pompous and shining arms, but their generals had convinced them, “ that a soldier ought to be grave in his dress, not set off with gold and silver ornaments, and to place his confidence in the strength of his arms and steadiness of his courage. For these bright and costly weapons were more apt to expose those that bear them to danger, than protect them from it, and however they might look before an engagement, made but a disagreeable appearance, when stained with blood and wounds. Valor was the genuine ornament of a soldier, and all these other advantages were annexed to victory. The richest enemy was a prey to the conqueror, let him be ever so poor.” Cursor having animated his men with these reflections, leads them to the battle, and having put himself at the head of the right wing, gave the command of the left to his general of the horse. From the very beginning of the battle both

forced to shorten his right-arm, and put his left-leg forward, that he might send it with the more violence, and be the more sure to hit his mark : and in this position, his right-leg was screened, and his left only in danger, and in want of a defence. Whereas, adds he, it was just the contrary, in attacks that were made sword in hand. Virgil represents the soldiers of the Hernici, as having only one boot each, and that on the right-leg.

*Vestigia unda sinistri
Instituere pedis, crudus tegit
altera pero.* *Æneid. 7.*

These boots were sometimes guarded with iron or brass; whence the epithet so often repeated in Homer,

καλκοκνημίδας Ακαιες. They reached but half way up the leg ; the upper part of it, to the knee, was sufficiently guarded by the length of the buckler. On the ancient monuments, we see some of this sort of buskins, which are bored through, and made of plates of iron or brass, or straps of leather, which are bound cross the leg, like a ligature. In imitation of these, the buskins of our modern theatrical heroes were made ; only the latter are lighter, and less troublesome. But whatever Vegetius may say to the contrary, the bas-reliefs, and antique statues, shew, that in after-times at least, these military boots were worn on both legs : and the historians seem to suppose it.

fides

sides disputed the superiority with the greatest keenness, nor did the dictator and the general of the horse contend with less emulation, for the first advantage over the foe. It happened that Junius on the left wing of the Roman army first put into disorder the right of the enemy, where the Samnites, had posted the troops, who, according to the custom of their country, had devoted themselves to death, and therefore appeared in a pompous manner with white robes and arms of equal brightness. For having called out that he intended to offer them up as a sacrifice to the infernal Gods, he immediately attacked with such success, that he broke their ranks, and effectually obliged them to retire. The dictator observing this, broke out into the following expressions. “What! said he, shall the victory
“begin upon the left? while the right, where the
“dictator commands in person, only assist in pushing another man’s conquest: and not share the
“principal honor of the day?” These words made such a strong impression upon the troops, that the cavalry vied with the infantry in valor, and the resolution of the lieutenant generals fell nothing short of that which animated the commanders in chief. Particularly M. Valerius on the right, and P. Decius on the left, both men of consular dignity, flew to the two bodies of horse, that were posted on the wings, and having invited them to come along with them, and share the glory of the victory, fell upon both the enemy’s flanks at the same time. This attack struck an additional terror into all the parts of the enemy’s army, and as it was seconded by the infantry, who advanced at the same time and set up a fresh shout, the Samnites began to take to their heels. In a moment after, the fields were filled with heaps of slain, and the shining arms of the enemy, who at first fled in great consternation to their camp; but even this they were not able to maintain, for before night it was taken, plundered and set on fire. The dictator, by an act of senate, obtained

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the honor of a triumph, and in all the procession upon that occasion, nothing made such a beautiful appearance as the arms that had been taken in the battle, which were thought so pompous, that the shields gilt with gold were distributed among the bankers, to be set up as ornaments to the forum; and from this, it is supposed the ædiles have derived their custom of adorning the forum when the images of the Gods are carried out in solemn procession^b. Thus the Romans improved the shining arms of their enemies to the honor of the Gods, but the Campanians, out of pride and aversion to the nation who were the original proprietors of these arms, used to equip their gladiators in them, when they came to divert them at their festivals, and call them in derision by the name of Samnites. The same year the consul Fabius fought with the remains of the Hetrurian army at Perugia, the inhabitants whereof had broken the truce with the Romans, and obtained an easy and complete victory. The victorious army also advanced to the very walls of that city, and would have made themselves masters of it, had they not been prevented by the deputies who came out of the place to surrender it at discretion. Upon this success, the consul having left a garison in Perugia^c, and sent the Hetrurian ambassadors, who came to propose a treaty of alliance with the Romans, before him to the city, entered Rome in triumph, as he had obtained a more considerable victory, than even that which had been gained by the dictator. But the honor of the victory over the Samnites was in a great measure ascribed to P. Decius and M. Valerius, and therefore the people at

^b The circensian games were ushered in with this ceremony, of carrying the statues of the Gods, dressed in the most magnificent manner, through the streets; and all orders of men in the republic assisted at the ceremony, and walked according to their ranks, adorned with all the marks of their dignity. We shall speak of this procession, which was the

finest sight to be seen at Rome, in another place.

^c This was a considerable city in Old Hetruria, when it was divided into twelve Lucumonies. The ancients say it was built by the Achivi, or Pelasgi, long before the Trojan war. It is now called Peruggia, and stands in the ecclesiastical state.

the next comitia, with great unanimity promoted the one to the dignity of consul, and the other to that of prætor.

FABIUS, for the extraordinary service he had done the state in subduing the Hetrurians, continued in the consulship, Decius was assigned him as his colleague, and Valerius a fourth time created prætor. The consuls having shared the provinces between them, Hetruria fell by lot to Decius, and Samnium to Fabius. The latter having led his army to Nuceria Alphaterna^a, the inhabitants made propositions of peace to him, but he rejected them because they had refused it when it was in their offer, and having laid siege to their city, obliged them to surrender at discretion. He likewise gave the Samnites battle, and defeated them with so great ease, that the affair would have been entirely forgotten, had not this been the first time the Marfi appeared in arms against the Romans. The Peligni^b imitated the Marfi in their revolt, and had the same fate. Decius the other consul had also good success in his expedition, for he struck such terror into the Tarquinienfes, that he obliged them to furnish provisions for his army, and demand a truce for forty years.

CHAP.
XLI.

Q. Fabius
and P. Decius, consuls,
Y. of R. 445.
B. J. C. 307.

^a The Nuceria here spoken of, stood on the banks of the Sarno, in a valley, formed by mount Vesuvius, and mount Lactarius, now Monte Letteri, nine miles from the sea. It was on the confines of Campania, and is distinguished from two other cities of the same name, by the surname of Alphaterna. It afterwards became a Roman colony; and is now called Nocera.

^b The name of the Peligni is often disfigured in some Greek authors. These are the people Diodorus Siculus calls sometimes Παλινης, and sometimes Παλινες; and Appian calls them Maglini, Μαγλινος. Festus is of opinion, that this nation came originally from Illyricum, and passed from thence into Italy, under the command of Volsinus Lucullus, their head. And this man, adds he, had two grandsons, Pacinus, and Pelis-

cius, who gave their names, one to the Pacinates, and the other to the Peligni. *Ex Illyrico orti. Inde enim profecti ductu Volsini regis, cui cognomen fuit Lucullo, partem Italiae occuparunt. Hujus fuerunt Nepotes Pacinus, a quo Pacinates; & Pelicius, a quo Peligni.* It is no easy matter to guess who the Pacinates were, Ovid. Fast. b. iii. thinks the Peligni were originally Sabines; & *tibi cum proavis miles Peligne Sabinis convenit.* This people inhabited a part of the Hither Abruzzo, between the rivers of Pescara and Sangro. So that their territory was bounded to the north, by the country of the Vestini; to the east, by those of the Marrucini and Frentani; to the south, by that of the Samnites; and to the west, by that of the Marfi.

He

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He took several forts from the Volfinienses by storm, some whereof he razed that they might no more serve as a retreat to the enemy, and by carrying his victorious arms round the whole country, struck such terror into the inhabitants, that all the nations of Hetruria applied to him for a treaty of peace. This offer the consul thought proper to reject, but granted them a truce for a year, on condition that they should give a year's pay to his army, and two under coats to every private soldier. By this means peace was restored to Hetruria, but it was soon interrupted by the revolt of the Umbrians, a nation, who had been entirely exempted from the severities of war, excepting only that their lands had suffered a little by the armies marching through them. However, this people having put all their youth in arms, and prevailed with a great part of Hetruria to renew the war, got together an army so considerable, that leaving Decius in Hetruria behind them, with high expressions of confidence in their own strength and contempt of the Romans, they threatened to march directly to Rome, and lay siege to it. As soon as Decius was informed of their design, he marched with great expedition from Hetruria to the city, and posted his army in the territory of Pupinium^c to watch the motions of the enemy. Nor did the inhabitants of Rome slight the war with the Umbrians as a matter of no moment; on the contrary, the menaces of the people put them in a consternation, as experience had taught by the havock made by the Gauls, what an easy matter it was to surprize their city. Wherefore they dispatched couriers to Fabius, that in case the war with the Samnites could admit of any interruption, he would march his army directly into Umbria. The

^c The Pupinian Field, or Pupinienſis Ager, lay between Scaptia and Pedom, near the Anio, and the Aqua Crabra, at leaſt eight miles from Rome; ſo that the boundaries were the Latin and the Lavican

ways; and the way that led to Præneſte. Varro, Cicero, Columella, and Valerius Maximus, ſay it was a barren ſoil, which could not without difficulty be made to produce the common neceſſaries of life.

ful obeyed his orders, and by long marches led his army to Mevania^a, where the Umbrian troops were encamped. This sudden approach of the consul at a time, when they imagined, he was employed in another expedition at a great distance, struck such a damp upon the minds of that people, that some of them proposed to retire to their fortified towns, and others to give entirely up the war. But the inhabitants of one of their cantons, which they call Materina^b, not only diverted them from these designs, and prevailed with them to continue in arms, but also persuaded them to march directly and attack the Romans. As the consul was drawing a line round his camp, when they came to fall upon him, he no sooner observed them advancing in a great hurry to his fortifications, than he called off his troops from their work, and drew them up in such order as the time and place would admit. Then having encouraged them, “by a bare recital of the laurels they had gathered in Etruria and Samnium, without the least exaggeration, he bid them dispatch the poor remains of the Etrurian war, and take vengeance on the enemy for the impious expressions they had used in menacing to lay siege to Rome.” The soldiers heard these things mentioned, with so great satisfaction, that they set up such shouts, as interrupted their general in his speech, and without waiting for orders, or the sound of horns and trumpets, run furiously towards the enemy. Nor did they attack them, as they used to do men, or an armed host, but, which is exceeding surprising, begun the battle by pulling the colors out of the hands of the standard-bearers,

^a Geographers place the ancient city of Mevania below Fulginium, now Fulgino, near the place where the Topino, formerly the river Tina, and the Clitumnus join, in the duchy of Spoleto.

^b Glareanus makes the word *plage*, to signify, a square battalion. And gives this reason for it, that they used it in that sense. Generally the word signifies no more than *pagos*.

And therefore we have with Dujatius taken it in this sense. It is indeed true, that no ancient geographer or historian mention any town in Umbria, which bore the name of *Materina*, but this at best will only prove that it was a place of no great consideration, and perhaps it may be the same with the city called Mitilica in that country, which we meet with in Frontinus, of *Colonies*.

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dragging the standard-bearers themselves to the consul, pulling the armed men out of the enemy's line into their own, and where there was any fighting at all, it was managed with shields more than swords. They pushed the enemies with the bosses of their bucklers, shoved them with their shoulders, and brought them to the ground, so that more were taken prisoners than slain. The cry over all the line of battle was to the Umbrians to lay down their arms, and therefore those, who had been the ringleaders in promoting the war, surrendered themselves at discretion on the field of battle. The next and following days the other nations of Umbria imitated their conduct, and delivered themselves up to the conqueror, but the inhabitants of Ocriculum^c were admitted into the friendship of the Romans, upon giving their solemn promise to ratify in form the articles proposed by the consul.

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XLII.



Appius
Claudius,
and L. Vo-
lumnus,
consuls,
Y. of R. 446.
B. J. C. 306.

FABIUS crowned with victory in an expedition which belonged to his colleague's province, led back his army into his own district. And therefore as the people the former year, had continued him in the consulship, in consideration of his extraordinary success in the war, so the next, when the administration was in the hands of Appius Claudius and L. Volumnius, the senate, for the same reason, continued him in the command of the army, notwithstanding Appius's most strenuous efforts to the contrary. I find in some records, that Appius, when he was censor, stood candidate for the consulship, but L. Furius, one of the tribunes of the people, opposed his election, until he was prevailed upon to resign his present office. After he was thus advanced to the supreme power, his colleague was charged with the command of the army to be employed in the war against the Salentines, who had never been at war

^c Ocriculum was one of the last cities in the southern part of Umbria, which was nearest to Rome. Ancient geographers place it a little beyond the Nar, now the Nera, near the place where Otricoli now stands.

with the Romans before ; this determined him to stay at Rome, and improve his interest in that city by political arts ; since the means of gaining reputation by warlike atchievements were lodged in the hands of others. Volumnius was not at all dissatisfied with his province, for he fought many battles with excellent success, stormed and took several cities, and as he gave the plunder to the soldiers, so he enhanced the merit of his generosity, however agreeable in itself, by his civil and obliging behavior, insomuch that by these means his troops became fond of opportunities to expose themselves to fatigues and dangers. Q. Fabius, in the quality of proconsul, fought a pitch'd battle with the Samnite army, wherein the victory was by no means doubtful, for the enemies were entirely routed and obliged to seek shelter in their camp, and even that would have been taken, if the day had not been very far spent : however, it was blocked up in the evening, carefully watched all night, that none might find an opportunity to escape, and next morning by day-break they began to surrender to the conqueror upon condition that all the Samnites, after passing under the yoke, and being strip'd to their under garment, should be dismissed. But no terms were granted their allies, so that seven thousand of them were sold by auction. Those who called themselves Hernici, were set apart by themselves under a guard, and sent to Rome to appear before the senate, who, having examined whether they had engaged to serve the Samnites in the war against the Romans, by order of their state, or as volunteers, distributed them among the states of Latium to be held in custody there, and ordered the new consuls, P. Cornelius Arvina and Q. Marcius Tremulus, who had been elected a little before, to examine the whole affair afresh, and make their report to the senate. The Hernici were provoked at this treatment, and therefore the inhabitants of Anagnia^a having convened a ge-

P. Corneli-
us Arvina,
and Q. Mar-
cius Tremu-
lus, consuls.
Y. of R. 447.
B. J. C. 305.

^a Anagnia was the capital of the territory of the Hernici, which is now a part of the Compagna di Roma. Virgil speaks of it, *Æneid* 7.

neral diet of all their states in the place which they called the circus maritimus, all the tribes comprehended under the name of Hernici, except the people of Alatria^b, Ferentinum^c, and Verula^d declared war against the Romans.

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AS Fabius had left Samnium, new troubles broke out there also. The enemies made themselves masters of Calatia^a and Sora^b with the Roman garisons that had been posted there, and exercised inhuman cruelties upon their prisoners, wherefore P. Cornelius was ordered to lead an army to that country: And as it had been already determined to declare war against the inhabitants of Anagnia, and the other states of the Hernici, Marcius was named to command against these new enemies. At first the enemies had so closely guarded all the places proper for their purpose, between the camps of the two consuls, that an expeditious courier could not carry a message from the one army to the other, and for some days the two Roman generals were entirely at a loss concerning the state of affairs, and under great apprehensions about the condition of one another. Nor was this all, the alarm had reached Rome, so that the youth were obliged to take the military oath, and two complete armies formed to provide against the unforeseen exigencies of the state. But after all the Hernician war was not answerable to the consternation it occasioned at first, nor the antient glory and re-

as a city famous for its riches. *Quos dives Anagnia pascit.* Strabo says it was a considerable city in Latium, πόλις ἀξιολόγος. Cicero, *pro Domo sua*, ranks it among the municipia; and Frontinus tells us, it became a Roman colony; while Festus gives it the title of a præfecture. That is to say, it underwent several changes at different times. In the ancient Itineraries, that part of the Latin way which led to Anagnia, is called Comitum Anagninum, where the little city of Castel-Matteo now stands.

^b The ancient city of Alatria, according to some, or Aletrium according to others, was six miles, or

thereabouts, from Anagnia; to the East of Ete, at a little distance from the springs of Liris. Frontinus makes it a Roman colony.

^c See vol. ii. p. 33. a. 411. a.

^d The ancient city of Verula or Verulæ, now Veroli, stood in New Latium, which is now a part of the Campagna di Roma. Verula was about five thousand geometrical paces north of Alatria; and Frontinus says, it afterwards became a Roman colony.

^a See vol. ii. pag. 373. note a.

^b A city of Latium, on the river Liris, situate on the confines of Campania, between Ferentinum and A-tina.

putation

putation of that people. For they never attempted any thing that deserves to be mentioned, but after being beat out of three camps successively in a very short space of time, obtained a truce for thirty days, till they should send ambassadors to the Roman senate, upon condition that they should advance two months pay and provisions for the consular army, and an under coat for every soldier in it. The senate referred them back to Marcius, with full power to him to determine concerning the fate of that people, and in consequence of this, he received the Hernici into the protection of the Roman state. The other consul in Samnium was superior to his enemy in the number and valor of his troops, but had by much the disadvantage in respect of the ground wherein he was posted. The Samnites had shut up all the roads, and guarded the open passes, so that no provisions could be conveyed to his army; and though he every day drew out his men, and offered them battle, he could never prevail with them to accept the challenge; because it was evident the Samnites in their present circumstances were not in condition to run the hazard of a battle, nor the Romans to bear the delay of it. The approach of Marcius, who, after defeating the Hernici, marched in great haste to the assistance of his colleague, put it out of the enemy's power to avoid an engagement longer; for as they were convinced they were not a match for one of the consular armies, it was plain they would have no ground to hope for success if they suffered them both to join. Wherefore they advanced to attack Marcius on his march, before he should have time to provide for their reception. The Romans in great hurry threw their baggage together in a heap, and formed themselves as well as the present exigence would allow; mean time the shouts and clouds of dust, which were observed at a distance, alarmed the other consul in his camp; upon which he immediately ordered his troops to arms, and having in great haste drawn out his army and attacked the enemies in flank, while

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they were employed in defending themselves against his colleague, called out to his men, “ that it would
“ be an eternal disgrace upon them, if they suffered
“ the other army to gain the victory in both pro-
“ vinces, and not exert themselves to secure the
“ glory of the war entirely committed to their care.”
With these words he vigorously pursued his assault, broke through the enemy’s line, and marched cross the field of battle to the camp of the Samnites, and as there was none left to defend it, took it and set it on fire. As soon as Marcius’s troops observed it in flames, and the enemies looked behind them, the latter began to desert all their posts and took to their heels, but found no safe retreat, for they were cut to pieces every where. After the Romans had slain thirty thousand of the Samnites, the consuls having ordered a retreat to be sounded, were gathering their troops together, and congratulating one another upon the success of their united arms, when all of a sudden they observed at a distance some recruits the Samnites had listed to reinforce their army, which gave occasion to begin the carnage afresh. For the victorious Romans, without waiting for a signal or the orders of their generals, immediately made up to the foe, crying out, “ that they must make
“ the Samnites pay dear for their apprenticeship in
“ arms.” The consuls did not pretend to check the impatience of their troops, being well assured that these recruits, after seeing the veteran troops of their own nation entirely routed, would not have the courage so much as to dispute the victory. Nor were they disappointed in the event, for all the troops of the Samnites, both veterans and others, immediately fled with great precipitation to the nearest mountains, whither the Roman army pursued, so that they found no post that could secure them, but were dispossessed of the eminences they had seized, and reduced to the necessity of calling out unanimously for peace. Upon which the consuls having ordered them in the mean time to furnish the army with provisions for three months, a year’s pay
and

and an under coat for every foldier, they ſent ambaf-
ſadors to Rome to ſue for a treaty. After this Corne-
lius was left in Samnium, while Marcius entered the
city in triumph in conſequence of his victory gained
over the Hernici, and obtained the honor of an equeſ-
trian ſtatue, which was erected before the temple of
Caſtor. Three ſtates of the Hernici, viz. the people
of Alatrina, Verula and Ferentinum had their own
laws, becauſe they choſe this rather than to be ad-
mitted to the privileges of Roman citizens, and
were alſo allowed to intermarry with the Romans, an
advantage for ſome conſiderable time refuſed to all but
the Hernici. The inhabitants of Anagnia, and thoſe of
the other provinces, who had made war upon the
Romans, were admitted citizens of Rome, but with-
out the right of ſuffrage. They were alſo deprived
of the right of holding aſſemblies or intermarrying
with the conquerors, and their magiſtrates prohibit-
ed to take any concern in publick affairs, except what
concerned the ceremonies of religion. The ſame
year C. Junius Bubulcus one of the cenſors dedicated
the temple of Health which he had vowed to that
goddeſs, when he was conſul in the time of the war
with the Samnites. The ſame Junius, in conjunction
with his colleague M. Valerius Maximus, laid high-
ways croſs the fields at the publick charge. The
ſame year the treaty with the Carthaginians was re-
newed for the third time, and the embafſadors they
had ſent to Rome upon that occaſion had preſents
ſent them in the moſt obliging manner.

THE ſame year P. Cornelius Scipio was created
dictator, and Publius Decius Muſ general of the
horſe. As the ſole deſign of their election was to
preſide at the nomination of conſuls, becauſe neither
of the preſent ſupreme magiſtrates could be diſpenſed
with from their attendance on the war, they held the
comitia for that purpoſe, and elected L. Poſthumius
and Ti. Minucius. Piſo ſuppoſes theſe conſuls to
have been the immediate ſucceſſors of Q. Fabius and
P. Decius, omitting entirely the two years to which

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XLIV.

L. Posthumus and
Ti. Minucius, consuls.
Y. of R. 418.
B. J. C. 364.

I have assigned the consulates of Claudius and Volturnius, Cornelius and Marcius; but it is uncertain whether his memory failed him, in digesting the records of those times, or whether he passed them off purpose because he thought their consulates imaginary. This year the Samnites made incursions upon the lands of Stella^a in Campania, which obliged the Romans to send both their consuls into Samnium. These two generals having divided their army, marched to different parts of that country, for Posthumus took the rout to Tifernum^b, Minucius to Bovianum^c, and the first battle was fought under the conduct of the former. Some say, that in this engagement the Samnites were entirely routed, and twenty thousand of them taken prisoners. Others assert it was a drawn battle, that Posthumus pretending to be afraid, secretly withdrew his army in the night-time to the mountains, and the enemy marched in pursuit of him, and encamped about two miles distance in a very convenient and secure post. The consul to shew that he had possessed himself not only of a place of great safety, but also one where he could have all provisions in great plenty, as indeed he had, after drawing lines and raising works round his camp, furnishing it with all kind of necessaries, and leaving a sufficient guard to defend it, marched the rest of his men without any incumbrance but their arms, by the shortest rout he could find, to his colleague, who was likewise encamped opposite to another body of the enemy. There Minucius by the advice of Posthumus gave the enemy battle, and as victory hovered till the day was far spent, Posthumus all of a sudden fell upon the enemy's line with his fresh legions, when the former were quite tired out with fighting. This

^a See Vol. ii. p. 152. note b.

^b There are two cities of this name in Umbria, one called formerly Tiberinum, now Città di Castello, in a plain near the Tiber. The other

called Metaurense, from the river Metaurus, stood in a valley in the duchy of Urbino, twenty miles from the former.

^c See vol. ii. pag. 425. note a.

weariness, together with their wounds, prevented their flight, so that the Romans cut them all to pieces, took one and twenty standards, and then marched to Posthumius's camp. Immediately after the two victorious armies fell upon the other body of the Samnites, when they were once put in a consternation by the news of the preceding disaster, and having routed and put them to flight, took six and twenty standards, both the enemies camps, with a vast number of prisoners, and among the rest Statius Gellius the Samnite general. Next day they laid siege to Bovianum, carried it in a short time, and returning to the city with great glory entered it in triumph. Some authors assert that the consul Minucius, having received a mortal wound, died soon after he was brought back to the Roman camp, and was succeeded in his office by M. Fulvius, who having taken upon him the command of Minucius's army, made himself master of Bovianum. The same year the cities of Sora, Arpinum^d, and Cerfennia^e were retaken from the Samnites, and a large statue of Hercules, dedicated and erected in the capitol.

^d The city of Arpinum, in the country of the Volsci, between the Melfis and the Liris, is yet in being, and bears the name of Arpino. It gave birth to Marius and to Cicero. The latter had a villa near it, which he calls, in several parts of his works, his paternal inheritance. His brother Quintus had also an estate in the neighbourhood, called Arcanum. It lay in the district, in which the city of Arco now stands.

^e Cerfennia, which formerly belonged to the Marfi, stood on the eastern shore of the lake Fucinus, near the place, where a little river, called by the ancients amnis Pitoni-
nius, discharged itself into the lake. Cluver places it near Castel Vener-
e; but Holstein contends, it was about the place called Li Colli.

It may not be improper to remark here, that this city has different names, in the different editions of Livy; in some it is called Cersennia, in others Cessentia. But we know of no cities in Italy of those names. Several conjecture, that we ought to read Cosentia; but they don't consider, that this last city stood in the extreme parts of Bruttium, and consequently was very far from Samnium, and the countries bordering upon it, in which the Romans made this campaign. Cluver corrects the text, and reads it Æsernia, a city of the Samnites; but this last city was, strictly speaking, within the territory of Samnium; whereas the city spoken of in the text, only belonged to the Samnites, by right of conquest.

CHAP.
XLV.

P. Sulpicius
Saverrio, and
P. Sempro-
nius Sophus,
consuls,
Y. of R. 440.
B. J. C. 305.

DURING the administration of the consuls, P. Sulpicius Saverrio and P. Sempronius Sophus, the Samnites, either wanting to bring the war entirely to a conclusion, or to spin it out for a season, sent to Rome to propose a treaty of peace. They made application to the senate in a very humble manner, but were answered, “ that if they had not often made
“ secret preparations for war, while they pretended to
“ make propositions of peace, their applications might
“ have met with a good reception, pretensions on
“ both sides might have been heard, and a treaty of
“ peace brought to a conclusion ; but seeing hitherto
“ they had never performed what they promised, no
“ judgment could be formed of them but from their
“ actions. P. Sempronius the consul was very soon to
“ be in Samnium with an army, and as they could
“ not disguise their real intentions with regard to
“ peace or war so as he should not discover them,
“ he would make a just and exact report to the se-
“ nate. The Samnite ambassadors might therefore
“ attend that consul, when he should set out on his
“ return from their country.” Accordingly the Ro-
man army this year traversed the whole country of the Samnites, and since they met with no opposition, but on the contrary were plentifully supplied with provisions, the state concluded a peace with that people upon the footing of ancient treaties. After this the Romans turned their arms against the Æqui, their old enemies, who for many years past had given no disturbance, but their pretences of keeping the peace were only intended to amuse and betray. For while the Hernici were in a flourishing condition, they had, in conjunction with them, sent assistance to the Samnites. After the conquest of the Hernici, almost their whole nation, with the declared approbation of their state, had revolted to the enemy. And upon the conclusion of the peace between the Romans and Samnites, when the former sent their feciales to demand restitution of the Æqui, they pretended “ that this demand was merely de-
“ signed

“ signed to try the strength of their resolution, and
 “ to see whether the dread of a war would determine
 “ them to suffer themselves to be made citizens of
 “ Rome. The case of the Hernici, they said, might
 “ satisfy them what a valuable privilege that would
 “ be, since such of that people as were left to their
 “ choice preferred their own laws to the freedom
 “ of that city, but those of them who were not
 “ allowed to follow their own inclination were oblig-
 “ ed to submit to the privilege of becoming Roman
 “ citizens as a punishment.” As these reflections
 were openly made in the assemblies of the Æqui,
 the Roman people ordered war to be declared
 against them, and both the consuls having tak-
 en the field upon this expedition, encamped with-
 in four miles of the enemy. Because the Æqui had
 not for many years been engaged in any war on their
 own account, their army, like one raised in haste,
 having no officers of experience or authority to com-
 mand them, were extremely perplexed. Some were
 of opinion, that they ought to advance in good or-
 der and offer the enemy battle; others were for con-
 fining themselves to the defence of their camp, and
 most part were alarmed whilst they considered that
 the Romans would soon fall to ravaging their lands,
 and sacking their towns, in which they had left but
 weak garisons. But among many different senti-
 ments, there was one, which tended to divert
 them entirely from all concern for the publick inte-
 rest, and fix their attention entirely to their own
 private affairs. The patrons of this opinion pro-
 posed, that abandoning their camp at the first watch
 of the night, they should disperse to convey all their
 effects to their strong towns, and then shutting up
 themselves also within their fortifications stand to
 their defence. As soon as this opinion was heard, they
 approved of it with great unanimity, and at day-break,
 while they were scattered in the fields, the Romans
 advanced with flying colors, and formed themselves
 with intention to give them battle. As no army appear-
 ed

CHAP. ed to meet them, they marched up at a good rate to
 XLV. the enemy's camp, and were much surprized to find
 no advanced guards before the gates, nor centinels
 posted upon the lines, and hear nothing of the noise
 so usual in camps. This made them halt a little for
 fear of an ambuscade ; but soon after venturing with-
 in the lines, and finding the camp intirely abandoned,
 they resolved to pursue the traces of the enemy.
 Here again they were at a loss; for first finding
 traces directing them to all quarters, they knew not
 which to follow, but afterwards having by means of
 their spies discovered the enemy's designs, they laid
 siege to one city after another with such success, that in
 the space of fifty days they made themselves masters
 of one and forty cities by assault. The greatest part of
 these were either burnt or razed to the ground, and
 the name of the Æqui almost quite cut off. Upon
 this success the consuls entered the city in triumph,
 and the Marucini, Marfi, Peligni, and Frentani,
 warned by the miseries of the Æqui, sent am-
 bassadors to propose a treaty of peace and alliance
 with the Romans, which was granted at their
 request.

CHAP. THIS year also C. Flavius, the son of Lucius
 XLVI. the freedman, a notary ^a by profession, and born
 to

^a Every magistrate in Rome had his scribe, or secretaries, whose business it was to set down in writing, the decrees passed at his tribunal, the laws which were revived, the proceedings of the court, and in short, every thing relating to his administration. And this office, at the time we are speaking of, was coveted by none but men of mean extraction, freedmen, mercenaries, and slaves. But it was otherwise among the Greeks, who admitted none into this employment, but persons of an honorable family, and known fidelity. These qualifications were made necessary for such, as were to be entrusted with the most important secrets of state, as we learn from Cornelius

Nepos, in his life of Eumenes. Indeed this was not always thought a contemptible employment by the Romans. Several Roman citizens gloried in it, and zealously canvassed for it, in Cicero's time; as he himself tells us, in his third oration against Verres. *Ordo est honestus, quod eorum hominum fidei tabulæ publicæ, periculaque magistratuum comitantur.* The scribes were, according to this Roman orator, a considerable order of men in the republic; for which he gives this reason, that they were the keepers of the public registers; and that being the confidents of the magistrates, they were in some measure the arbiters of their fortune. They multiplied exceedingly in Rome, after



to a very small estate but at the same time a very artful man and a great speaker, was curule ædile. I find it recorded in some annals, that when he was waiting upon the ædiles in the station of an apparitor^b, finding he was like to be chosen ædile by the prerogative tribe, and that the ædiles refused to enrol him among the candidates, because of his profession, he threw down his journal and swore he would never thereafter act in the station of a scribe. Licinius Macer asserts, that he had renounced that profession some time before, and had served not only as tribune of the people, but likewise been a member of the triumvirate for preventing riots in the night^c, as well as of one which had been named for planting a colony. But be this as it will, it is agreed on all hands, that he made head against the nobility, who contemned the meanness of his

after the republic began to decline; insomuch that they were divided into as many decuries, as there were tribunals, or magistrates, at Rome, who wanted their assistance. Most of them got themselves incorporated into some of the companies, generally by money. Suetonius tells us, that when Horace had laid aside the profession of arms, he bought the office of secretary, or greffier, to the quæstors. *Scriptum quæstorium emit.* Under the emperors, this office became a step to the Roman knighthood. As the scribes were thought versed in the knowledge of the civil and other laws, the prætors, and judges of the municipia, were chosen out of them. Horace, in the fifth satyr of his first book, laughs at the foolish vanity of one Aufidius Lucus, the prætor of Fundi, who having exercised the office of a scribe, assumed to himself the same honors which belonged to the chief magistrates of Rome.

*Fundos, Aufidio Lusco prætore, libenter
Linquimus, insani ridentes præmia scribæ,
Prætextam, & latum clavum, præ-
næque batillum.*

^b The Romans called those inferior officers apparitors, who were hired to stand by the magistrates, and proclaim their ordinances. They generally walked before the magistrates, and did much the same office as the huissiers among the French, or the tipstiffs among us. None but freedmen, and their sons, were put in these offices; the Romans thought them servile; and they were therefore disliked by a people who gloried in their independence. Aul. Gellius, b. xii. c. iii. says, that the apparitors tied up their robes with a piece of linen cloth, probably to shew, that they were always ready to execute the magistrates orders. *Licio transverso, quod linum appellatur, qui magistratibus præministrabant, cincti erant.*

^c The business of these triumviri, whom the Romans called triumviri nocturni, was only to take the rounds in the night, through all quarters of the city. They marched at the head of a company of men, who were under their command, and hired by the republic. Their only care, according to Paul the civilian, was to prevent, and put out fires. *Apud vetustiores. incendiis arcendis triumviri*

CHAP.

XLVI.

his extraction, and shewed himself every way as inflexible as they. He published a system of the civil law ^d, which had formerly been concealed in the closets and cabinets of the priests, and drew up a kalendar of all the pleading days observed about the forum, that the citizens might know on what days they could go to law. He also dedicated the temple of Concord ^e within the space consecrated to Vulcan, to the great mortification of the nobility, and Cornelius Barbatus, the pontifex Maximus was obliged to repeat before him the words of the form used on such solemn occasions, though that pontiff insisted strenuously, that according to the customs of their ancestors, none but a consul or general of the army had a right to dedicate a temple. For this reason the senate proposed a bill to the people, prohibiting any person whatever, to dedicate a temple or altar without the express order of the senate or the majority of the tribunes of the people. The event

triumviri præerant, qui ab eo, quod excubias agebant, nocturni dicti sunt. It belonged to the people assembled by tribes, to elect these magistrates. Tacitus, Annal. b. v. speaks of some of these triumviri, who were fined for having come too late into the sacred street, where a fire had already done a great deal of mischief.

^d Cicero, in his oration for Muræna, and Pomponius the civilian, in his work entitled *De origine Juris*, tells us, that Flavius stole from Appius, his collection of the Roman civil laws; and adds, that he made it matter of merit with the citizens of Rome, to divulge what had been hitherto an impenetrable mystery to them. This new collection was put into the hands of the people, and was ever after called the Flavian Code. Appius had probably been ordered to make a collection of the laws relating to proceedings at law, and had in order to it been shewn the registers, which were deposited with the pontifices; and he doubtless digested them into order, under proper heads, and made a body of laws, which Flavius made use of to gain the suffrages of the people.

By his publication of them, Flavius freed the citizens from the authority of the pontifices, who had till that time been the absolute interpreters of the abstruse points of the civil law. Recourse was no longer had to them, as before, to consult the law-books; which they so carefully preserved in their own archives, that they had been all along kept secret from the public, ever since the foundation of Rome.

^e The Romans represented Concord, as a beneficent divinity; and under this persuasion erected several temples to her. The ancient monuments represent this goddess, under the different symbols of two right hands joined, with a caduceus between them; of two serpents twisted round an altar; of an harp, whose strings are unharmonious, unless it be tuned to an unison; of two cornucopiæ, to shew that concord is the source of all good things; and lastly, of two hearts, united in one. On an old silver medal of the Fonteian family, we find the head of a concord, with this inscription; *P. Fonteius capito triumvir. Concordia.*

I am next to take notice of, is a matter very considerable in itself, and would not be worth mentioning if it was not an instance of the great freedom the commons assumed to bring down the pride of the patricians. Flavius having gone to visit his colleague, who was indisposed at that time, found a company of young noblemen, who, in consequence of a concert they had formed, would not rise up to salute him; upon which he ordered his curule chair to be brought into the room, and having seated himself on this badge of the honorable office he held in the state, looked down upon his enemies who were extremely mortified at the sight. This Flavius had been named ædile by a faction of the ^ameanest city commoners, which had acquired extraordinary power and interest during the censorship of Appius Claudius. This Appius was the first who polluted the senate by enrolling the sons of freedmen among the members, but finding that no body regarded these elections, and he had not by that means acquired all the authority and interest he wanted in the senate and city, he distributed the meaner sort of people through all the tribes, and thereby corrupted the assemblies of the people both in the forum and the Campus martius. And the election of Flavius in particular gave so great offence, that the greatest part of the nobility laid aside their gold rings, and the ornaments of their hair. From that time the city was divided into two parties, composed of the soundest part of the people, always attached to decency and good order, and a faction of the meanest citizens who set themselves in opposition to the former, till Q. Fabius and M. Decius were elected censors. This Fabius, at once to re-establish harmony in the state, and take care the elections of magistrates should not fall into hands of the city mob, separated the meaner sort from the rest of the people, and erected them into

^a See Vol. i. p. 311. b. Vol. ii. p. 121. a. 222. b.

CHAP. four societies by themselves, which he afterwards
 XLVI. called the city tribes. This regulation is said to
 have been so very agreeable to the Romans, that
 upon this occasion they gave him the title of
 Maximus, which all his victories could never have
 procured him; and it is also pretended that he in-
 stituted the solemn procession of the Roman knights,
 which is annually observed on the fifteenth of
 July ^b.

^b On that day they appeared on horseback, dressed in purple, and crowned with olives, at the temple of Mars, from whence they marched in procession to the capitol. This procession was instituted in honor of Castor and Pollux, who were imagined to have fought for the Romans in the battle of Regillus.

End of the NINTH BOOK.



THE
ROMAN HISTORY

BY
TITUS LIVIUS of Padua.

DECADE I. BOOK X.

Colonies led to Sora and Alba. Cleonymus general of the Lacedæmonians is driven off the coast of Italy and scarce saves a fifth part of his Ships. The Marfi, who inhabited Carseoli, received into the protection of the Romans. The Hetrurians defeated and a truce granted them for two years. The college of augurs, which had formerly consisted of four members only, encreased to nine. The law concerning appeals to the people passed a third time by the consul Valerius. The Aneine and Terentine tribes added to the former. The Hetrurians in vain solicit the Gauls to make war upon the Romans. The consul Manlius dies of a fall from his horse. War proclaimed against the Samnites, and several victories gained over that people. The Romans having engaged in battle against the Umbrians, Hetrurians, Samnites and Gauls, and being reduced to the greatest extremity of danger, P. Decius, after the example of his father, devotes himself to death for the army, and at the expence of his own life procures the victory. Papirius Cursor routs an army of the Samnites, who, that they might fight with the greater fury and obstinacy had, before the battle, bound themselves by a solemn oath never to return without victory. A census performed, and the lustrum completed. In this survey two hundred and sixty two thousand, three hundred and twenty two citizens enrolled.

AS the Romans had little or no foreign war during the consulship of L. Genucius and Ser. Cornelius, they planted a colony at Sora^a and another

CHAP.

I.

L. Genucius
and Ser.

Cornelius
consuls.

Y.of R. 450.

at B.J. C. 302.

^a A city of old Latium on the confines of Campania. It stood on the right bank of the Garigliano, near to the present Fiume della Posta. Sora is it's name at this present time.

CHAP.

I.

at Alba^b. For the latter, which was one of the cities of the Æqui, six thousand citizens were enrolled, and for the former, which originally belonged to the Volsci, but had been also in the possession of the Samnites, only four thousand. The same year the Arpinates^c and Trebulani^d were admitted to the privileges of Roman citizens: while the Frusinate^e were condemned to lose a third part of their territory, because it was found that they had been soliciting the Hernici to renew the war. The consuls also, by order of the senate, made a strict enquiry into that affair, and the ringleaders in the conspiracy were first whipt with rods and afterwards beheaded. But that this year might not entirely pass without war, a small body of troops were sent to Umbria, upon information that a number of armed men had taken possession of a cave in that country, and from thence sallied out and ravaged the lands. The Romans entered the cave with their colors flying, and in that dark place received many wounds, especially by means of stones, till having found out the other entry, for it was a kind of subterraneous passage, they piled up heaps of wood in both ends and then set them on fire. By this means, those who were within the cave, to the number of two thousand men, were stifled with smoke and heat, or while they used their last efforts to avoid this danger thrust themselves into the flames and were consumed. In the consulship of M. Livius Denter and M. Æmilius, the Æqui renewed the

M. Livius
Denter and
M. Æmilius
consuls.

Y. of R. 451.
B. J. C. 301.

^b We are here to understand Alba Fucentis, which stood on the side of a hill, three miles from the lake Fucinus, in the country of the Marfi. Ptolemy, Antoninus, Cæsar and Festus and most ancient geographers give it this situation. It is called *Albe* to this day. Our author might be misled by the neighborhood of the countries of the Marfi and Æqui, who often united against Rome in the same war.

^c Their capital is still in being between the Melfis and Garigliano, and retains the name of *Arpino* at this day. It gave birth to *Marius* and *Cicero*.

^d Several towns in Italy bore the

name of Trebula. One in Sabinia, seven miles from Reate where now stands Monte Leone, and is distinguished by the name of Mutusca. Another in the same country, whose site is uncertain, but called Suffena. Plin. b. 3. c. 12. There was a third in Campania, which Cluver conjectures to have stood between the ruins of ancient Capua and Sueffula, where now stands the village of Trentola. It is probable our author understands the inhabitants of the latter.

^e Their city Frusino stood in the country of the Volsci, near the river Cosa, and is now called *Fraselona*.

war.

war: For that people, beholding the Roman colony CHAP.
which was planted in their country with great indig-
nation, and considering it as a kind of citadel erected I.

in their own territory to keep them in awe, at-
tacked it with all their strength; but the colony itself
repulsed them. However, at Rome, as it did not
seem credible that the Æqui, in the wretched cir-
cumstances to which they had been reduced, would
take up arms without the assistance of their neighbors,
this insurrection put the city in such a consternation,
that they created a dictator to suppress it. Accord-
ingly C. Junius Bubulcus, the person pitched upon,
having put himself at the head of the Roman army,
with M. Titinius his general of the horse, entirely
routed the enemy in the first battle. On the eighth
day he returned to Rome in triumph, and as he had
vowed a temple^f to the Goddess of Health^g when
he was consul, and built it when he was censor, he
took this opportunity to dedicate it in the exalted
station of dictator.

C. Junius
Bubulcus
dictator, M.
Titinius
general of
horse.

THIS year a Græcian fleet, under the command CHAP.
of Cleonymus^a, arrived upon the coast of Italy and II.
took Thurii^b a city of the Salentines. The consul
Æmilius being sent against him, defeated him en-
tirely in one battle and drove him to his ships, up-
on which Thurii was delivered up to its ancient
possessors, and peace restored to the Salentine terri-
tory. I find in some annals that Junius Bubulcus in
the quality of dictator was sent to the country of Sa-
lentum, and that Cleonymus evacuated Italy before
he was obliged to give the Romans battle. After this,
having sailed round the promontory of Brundisium^c,

^f On the Quirinal hill, whence
the hill and the next gate to it were
called *Salutaris*.

^g She was called by the Latins
Salus and by the Greeks *Hygiea*,
and is represented on medals under
the figure of a woman, sitting near
an altar, round which a serpent is
twisted, and offering it drink in a
cup.

^a This prince, it is probable, was
son of Cleomenes the second, king of
Sparta, and contended for the crown

of Lacedæmon, with Areus son of
his uncle Acrotatus, and engaged
Pyrrhus to assist him.

^b As Thurii, according to all o-
ther geographers and historians, is
reckoned to have been the ancient
Sybaris in Lucania, it is probable our
author wrote Rudizæ which was
actually a city of the Salentines, and
gave birth to the poet Ennius.

^c Or Japygium, the present Cape
de Leuca,

CHAP.

II.

he was hurried by the force of the winds to the middle of the Adriatic gulph, where observing that there were no harbors on the coast of Italy to the left, and the countries on the right were inhabited by the Illyrians^d, Liburnians^e and Istrians^f, nations quite savage and in a great measure infamous for their piracies, he sailed close to the Venetian shores. Here having set a few of his men on shore to reconnoitre the country, he was informed that the opposite shore was very narrow, and behind it several lakes formed by the tide. Beyond these a little way, was a plain champain country terminated at a great distance by a ridge of hills. In those parts they had also observed the mouth of a very deep river, meaning the Meduacus^g, where they had seen ships riding safely at anchor. Cleonymus, upon this information, ordered his fleet to enter these lakes and sail directly up the river. But as the river was not large enough to admit the ships of greatest burden, the troops went on board the lightest vessels, and arrived at a well inhabited country belonging to the three cantons of the Patavians, which lay next the sea and were in possession of all that coast. There leaving a small number of men to guard their ships, the rest went ashore storming the villages, setting fire to the houses, and carrying off great numbers of the inhabitants and vast herds of their cattle, till by degrees the sweets of booty and plunder prevailed upon them to venture a vast way from their ships. As soon as those accounts reached Padua, the inhabitants, who were constantly obliged to be in arms on account of the

^d Some geographers extend their country from the lake of Constance to the Euxine sea, and from the Adriatic sea to the Danube, and from mount Hæmus to the mouth of the river of that name. Strabo comprehends in it Istria and Carniola. It contains at present only ancient Liburnia and Dalmatia.

^e Their country comprehended that district bounded by the frontiers of Istria, by the proper Dalmatia, and

the Adriatic sea.

^f Their province lay between the gulph of Triasto, that of Quarnero, and Liburnia.

^g There were two rivers of this name, which both rise in Rhætia, the country of the Grisons. The first called Brenta, runs beyond Padua towards the north. The lesser Meduacus ran through the middle of Padua, and is now called Bacchiglione.

neighbor-

neighborhood of the Gauls, divided their youth into two bodies, and marched one of them to the place where they heard the Greeks had dispersed themselves to pillage the country, while the other, that they might not meet with any of these banditti, took another rout to the place where their ships lay at anchor, which was fifteen miles distant from the city. This party attacked their light ships, and having slain the command which was left to guard them, the sailors, in great consternation, were obliged to pass the river and bring their barks to the opposite bank. The other party, which was sent to fall upon the straggling pillagers by land, had equal good success, for when the Greeks fled to their ships, they were met by the Veneti, and being thus attacked in front and rear the far greater part were cut to pieces. A few that were made prisoners gave information, that king Cleonymus with the fleet was at three miles distance. Upon which having sent the prisoners under a guard to the nearest village, some manned flat bottomed boats, contrived so on purpose for getting easily over the shallows of the river; others the barks they had taken from the enemy, and having sailed to the Grecian fleet, surrounded their ships which were then riding at anchor. The Greeks who were on board them, being more afraid of the place where they were, as it was to them entirely unknown, than the enemy, thought more of putting to sea than of making resistance. The enemy pursued them to the mouth of the river, and having taken and burnt a part of their ships which in their hurry had been run upon shoals, returned victorious, whilst Cleonymus having scarce saved a fifth part of his ships, and being defeated on all the coasts of the Adriatic where he attempted to land was obliged to retire to his own country. There are many yet alive, who have seen the prows and spoils of the Lacedæmonian ships, hanging in the ancient temple of Juno; and at Padua, to perpetuate the memory of that victory, a sea engagement is re-

presented every year, on the river, which passes through the city, and on the very day whereon the battle was fought^a.

CHAP.

III.



M. Val.
Maximus
dictator, M.
Æmil, Pau-
lus general
of horse.

THE same year, the Romans entered into a treaty of alliance with the Vestini^a, at the earnest solicitation of that people, and soon after the state was alarmed from many quarters at once. For accounts were brought that the Hetrurians were renewing the war, upon occasion of an insurrection among the Aretini^b, who were endeavoring by force of arms to expel the family of the Cilnii, because their vast power and riches had exposed them to the jealousy of their fellow-citizens. They had news at the same time, that the Marfi were by violent methods maintaining their possession of the lands of Carfeoli^c, against the colony of four thousand Romans who were sent to settle there. These commotions obliged the Romans to choose M. Valerius Maximus dictator, who named for his general of the horse M. Æmilius Paulus^d. At least I am more apt to think he was the

^a No historian makes fewer digressions from the thread of his history than our author. But as the people of his native city had the greatest share in repelling the Lacedæmonians, we may cheerfully indulge him with the relation of this second expedition of Cleonymus, though no wise connected with the Roman affairs.

^a Strabo speaks of the Vestini, as of a branch of the Samnites; and consequently the former, as well as the latter, must have come originally from Sabinia. Whilst others think they were descended from the people of Illirycum. Suidas calls them Βεστίνες; and says, this name agreed perfectly well with this savage and barbarous nation. They inhabited that part of the further Abruzzo, which is watered towards the North by the river Matrinus, of the Pionpa. It was bounded to the South-West by the Alernus, or Pescara; and to the East, by the Adriatic sea.

^b See below, book xii. p. 154. a.

^c It stood in the Valerian way not

far from the country of the Peligni.

^d The fathers Catrou and Rouille observe in the nineteenth book of the Roman history as follows, “According to Livy, the dictatorship was only conferred on Valerius, who made Marcus Æmilius Paulus his general of horse, and not Quinctus Fabius, as some ancient authors imagined: and he gives this reason, why he inclines to favor Æmilius. It is, says he, very improbable, that Quinctus Fabius, who was so venerable for his age, and the employments he had been honored with, should act as a subaltern under Valerius. To which he adds, that the surname of Maximus gave rise to the mistake. But it must be confessed, that Livy expresses himself so obscurely, as to this last particular, that it is scarce possible to make sense of what he says. It is very true, that the surname of Maximus was common in the Valerian and Fabian families; but does it follow from thence, that therefore some people

the person employed upon this occasion, than that Q. Fabius after he was so far advanced in years, and had risen to such honors in the state was put under the command of Valerius. It is also very probable that the mistake has taken it's rise from the title of Maximus which Valerius and Fabius had in common. But be this as it will, the dictator having marched with his army, entirely routed the Marfi in one battle. And having obliged them to take shelter in their fortified towns, made himself master of Milonia, Plestina and Frefilia* in a few days: Upon this success

“ people may have confounded Æ-
 “ milius Paulus with Quintus Fa-
 “ bius? The former had not the
 “ surname of Maximus; and there-
 “ fore there was no danger of taking
 “ him for one who had it. Perhaps
 “ he meant, that some, deceived by
 “ the surname of Maximus, fancied,
 “ that Quintus Fabius exercised the
 “ dictatorship without Valerius. But
 “ be that as it will, it is certain
 “ that Livy mistakes in making Va-
 “ lerius the only dictator; the Fasti
 “ Capitolini expressly contradict him.
 “ On the one hand, we find the sur-
 “ name of Maximus given to the first
 “ dictator in the Year 452; and on
 “ the other, we find the triumph of
 “ Valerius Corvus, who is called
 “ dictator, mentioned in the same
 “ year. So that there were two
 “ magistrates who exercised the dic-
 “ tatorship; one of which has the
 “ surname of Maximus; the other
 “ is called Valerius Corvus, in the
 “ triumphal tables. All that remains,
 “ is, to know who it is, that is here
 “ called Maximus; and all circum-
 “ stances concur in making it most
 “ probable, that the opinion of Si-
 “ gonius and Pighius is the true one,
 “ who think that Quintus Fabius
 “ Maximus Rullianus was the man.
 “ Livy's account, the Fasti of Cuf-
 “ pinian, which make him Vale-
 “ rius's colleague in the year 452,
 “ the reputation this great man had
 “ acquired, and the advantages he
 “ had gained over the enemies of
 “ the republic, all make it likely,
 “ that he was the first pitched upon,
 “ to subdue two rebellious nations,

“ And if we suppose this dictator-
 “ ship to have been thus divided be-
 “ tween Fabius and Valerius, this
 “ will give us a key to the uncon-
 “ nected passage of Livy before
 “ spoken of; wherein he says, that
 “ the surname of Maximus had led
 “ some into an error. *Dictus M.*
 “ *Valerius dictator, magistrum equitum*
 “ *sibi legit M. Æmilium Paulum. Id*
 “ *magis credo, quam Quintum Fa-*
 “ *bium, ea ætate, atque eis honoribus,*
 “ *Valerio subiectum. Cæterum ex*
 “ *Maximi Cognomine ortum errorem*
 “ *haud abnuerim.* What mistake does
 “ he here mean? It was this. The
 “ ancient Fasti shewed, that Valerius
 “ Maximus, and Fabius Maximus,
 “ had been successively raised to the
 “ dictatorship. And it being un-
 “ usual to create two dictators im-
 “ mediately after one another, in
 “ the same year; some therefore
 “ thought that only the first of the
 “ two magistrates, namely Valerius,
 “ whose Names they found in the
 “ Annals, had really been dictator,
 “ and that Quintus Fabius had on-
 “ ly been general of horse.

* These fathers in the same place
 remark, “ Livy seems to be incon-
 “ sistent with himself, as to the
 “ situation of the cities of Milonia
 “ and Plestina. Here he says, that
 “ Milonia belonged to the Marfi;
 “ and in another place, b. 10, he
 “ says, that this city was taken from
 “ the Samnites by the Romans. In
 “ his ninth book, he speaks of a
 “ city Plistia, (which Cluverius
 “ thinks was the same with Plestina)
 “ places it in Samnium, and calls it
 a city

CHAP. III. cefs he punished the Marfi by taking from them a part of their territory, and then renewed the former treaty with them. After this the army marched againft the Hetrurians, and the dictator having gone to Rome to renew the auspices, the general of the horfe happened in the mean time to go out a foraging, which gave the enemy an opportunity to lay an ambuscade for him, and thereby they quite furrounded his troops, took feveral of his ftandards, killed a great number of his men, and obliged him with the reft to fly fhamefully to his camp. This difafter is a ftrong proof that Fabius was not general of the horfe upon this occafion, for if that great man deferved the title of Maximus for his other abilities, he certainly did fo moft of all for his extraordinary fuccefs in war. And befides this, as Fabius could not forget the feverity of Papirius, he would never have been prevailed upon to fight without the dictator's orders.

CHAP. IV. WHEN the news of this defeat reached Rome, it produced a greater confternation there than the occafion feemed to deferve. For as if the whole army had been cut to pieces, they proclaimed a vacation of the courts of juftice, pofted troops at the gates, kept guard in every ftreet, and difpofed all forts of arms in heaps upon the walls. But after the dictator had obliged all the youth to take the military oath, and fent to the army, he found every thing there in a more quiet and compofed ftate than he expected, for the general of the horfe had carefully encamped the troops in a place of greater fafety, the cohorts

“ a city in alliance with Rome:
 “ and yet he here owns, that it be-
 “ longed to the Marfi. Sigonius, to
 “ avoid the contradiction, fupposes
 “ that Milonia and Pleftina were
 “ two different cities from Milonia
 “ and Pliftia; fo that, according to
 “ him, the two former belonged to
 “ the Marfi, and the two latter to
 “ the Samnites. But he gives us
 “ no proofs of his conjecture. Be-
 “ fides, the abridger of Stephens
 “ reckons Milonia among the cities
 “ which ftood on the confines of

“ Samnium, and of the canton of
 “ the Peligni. And laftly, it is no
 “ uncommon thing for ancient au-
 “ thors to confound the Marfi with
 “ the Samnites. Thefe two nations
 “ bordered upon one another, were
 “ united in intereft againft the
 “ Romans their common enemies,
 “ and were therefore thought to be
 “ one and the fame nation. As for
 “ the city of Fresilia, it is plain,
 “ from what Livy fays of it, that
 “ it ftood near the two former.

which

which had lost their standards were disposed without the lines, and had no tents to lie in, and the whole army was impatient to have an opportunity of fighting the enemy, that they might the sooner wipe off the stain of their late disaster; wherefore he moved out of that place and encamped in the territory of Rusellum^a. Thither the enemy also followed, flushed with their late success, and though they had very good hopes of victory in a fair battle, yet they thought proper also to employ ambuscades, which they had formerly found so much to their advantage. Not far from the Roman camp were the ruins of a village, which had been burnt down some time before in ravaging the country. Under the covert of these they posted a body of troops, and drove a herd of cattle within sight of an advanced body of the Roman army, commanded by Cn. Fulvius one of the lieutenant-generals. As this temptation drew none of the Romans from their posts, one of the shepherds advancing almost quite up to the lines, called out to the rest of his companions, who were driving the cattle at very great leisure from the ruins of the village, to make haste, because they might safely drive them through the middle of the Roman camp. When one of the Cærites had interpreted these words to the lieutenant-general, and the insult excited the indignation of all the troops, though they durst not stir out of their posts to resent it, without orders, Fulvius bid some who understood their language take particular notice, whether these pretended shepherds spoke like peasants or citizens. The persons he employed for this purpose brought him notice that their manner of speaking, their mein and the gaiety of their dress, were not at all suited to the condition of shepherds, upon which he said, “Go tell them to draw out the troops they have laid in ambush, all their schemes are well known to the Romans, who can as little be caught by their stratagems as conquered by the force of their arms.” As soon

^a An inland town of Tuscany now called Rosella.

as this was intimated to the troops who had formed the ambuscade, they started out of their sculking places, and advanced with colors flying to a spacious field where they were fully exposed to view. The lieutenant-general soon was convinced they were a body too numerous to be matched by the party under his command, and as this determined him to send in great haste to the dictator for assistance, so he endeavored to stand the shock of the enemy till these succors should arrive.

CHAP.

v.

THE dictator upon receipt of this message ordered the standards to be moved forward and the troops to arm and attend them. The soldiers performed every part of their duty in some measure sooner than the orders could be given; for, as they were animated by the resentment they had of their late disaster, so the shouts of their countrymen growing louder and louder, was a sign that the fury and heat of the battle was likewise encreasing. Therefore they immediately pulled up the standards and their arms, and could scarce contain themselves from running furiously to the foe. They hurried one another forward, and called to the standard-bearers to make greater dispatch. But the more the dictator observed their impatience, the more he endeavored to detain them, and repeated his orders to march at leisure. The Hetrurians on the contrary being on their guard and in order at the beginning of the battle, were come up with all their forces, and several messengers one upon the back of another came to acquaint the dictator, that all the Hetrurian legions being engaged it was not possible for Fulvius and his men to keep their ground. He could also observe from an eminence to what danger his friends were exposed, but being confident that the lieutenant was yet able to stand the shock of the Hetrurians, especially as he had not far to march to his relief, he wanted the enemies should fatigue themselves, that he might have access to fall upon them with his fresh troops, when they should be spent and tired out with fighting.

ing. However slow they marched they were by this time so far advanced, that the cavalry had scarce room to take their career, and fall with all their force upon the enemy. And that they might make the greater impression, he made the infantry advance first, and conceal from the Etrurians the storm which was to fall upon them; but he left large spaces between their companies, that through these intervals the cavalry might have scope enough to come up at full speed. When he had made this disposition the whole army at once set up a shout, upon which the cavalry giving loose reins to their horses made up at the gallop to attack the enemy, who being quite unprovided for such a storm, were in a moment put in the greatest consternation. Thus it was almost too late before relief came to Fulvius and his men, because they were very near quite surrounded by the Etrurians, but when it came they were entirely rescued from all further hazard or difficulty. For the fresh troops put themselves in their stead and renewed the battle, which after this did not last long, nor was the victory disputed. The enemies being soon put to the rout fled to their camp, and when the Romans attacked them there run in crowds to the remotest part of it. Some fled in such hurry that they stuck in the gates, which were too narrow to receive so many at once. But the greater part got upon the mount and rampart, intending either to defend themselves by the advantage of the higher ground, or to find means to get over the lines and save themselves. It happened that in one place the earth of the mount, not having been sufficiently cram'd together, gave way with the weight of the crowd which stood upon it, and fell into the ditch. Upon which they cried out that the Gods had opened a way for their escape, and many took this opportunity to shift for themselves, but the greatest part of them had thrown away their arms. In this battle the strength of the Etrurians was a second time crushed to pieces. So that having agreed to furnish
a year's

CHAP. a year's pay and two months provisions for the Roman
V. army, the dictator permitted them to send ambassa-
 dors to Rome to treat about a peace. Their negotia-
 tions for a treaty were unsuccessful, but they obtain-
 ed a truce for two years, upon the conclusion of
 which the dictator returned to the city and entered
 it in triumph. There are some authors who assert,
 that Valerius reduced Hetruria to a peaceable state
 without any memorable action, merely by suppressing
 the seditions of the Aretini, and reconciling the Cil-
 nian family to the general good will of the people.
 Valerius had no sooner resigned his dictatorship than
 he was chosen consul, and some historians are of opi-
 nion, he was advanced to this latter dignity, not on-
 ly without any sollicitation of his own but even in his
 absence, and that the comitia wherein he was elected
 was held by an interrex ; but be this as it will, one
 circumstance is not disputed, for all are agreed that
 Apuleius Pansa was his colleague in the consulate.

CHAP. DURING the consulship of M. Valerius and Q.
VI. Apuleius Pansa, foreign affairs were in a pretty quiet
 state, for the calamities they had suffered in the last
 war and the late truce kept the Hetrurians in order,
 and the Samnites were so mortified with the losses
 they sustained during the course of a great many
 years, that they were not yet weary of the treaty
 they had lately concluded. At Rome likewise, the
 great numbers of citizens who had been sent into co-
 lonies kept the people in peace, as it also enabled
 them to live at their ease. But that the Romans
 might not take the advantage of a general tranquillity
 in all respects, the two Ogulnii, Q. and Cn. who were
 tribunes of the people this year, threw a bone of
 contention between the leading men of the patrician
 and plebeian party, who were also the most confide-
 rable persons in the state. For as the tribunes were
 continually courting occasions of rendering the patri-
 cians odious to the plebeians, after attempting sever-
 al other means without success, at last they fell upon
 one, which tended not to enflame the meaner sort
 of

M. Valerius
 and Q. Apu-
 leius Pansa
 consuls.

Y. of R. 452.

B. J. C. 300.

of people only, but the top men among them, who had arrived at the consular dignity, the honor of triumphs, and had served in all the great offices of the state except that of the priesthood, which was not yet indifferently conferred on the patricians and commoners. They therefore brought in a bill, that since there were at that time only four pontiffs and four augurs, the college of priests should be thenceforth augmented with four new pontiffs and five augurs, and these additional members should be always chosen out of the order of the plebeians. But I cannot see how the college of augurs could have been reduced to four, if it was not by the death of two, for it is a constant maxim among them, that their number ought to be unequal, as it was originally when the three tribes of the Ramnenses, Titienfes and Luceres, had each their particular augur assigned them, or if there was occasion to augment that college, it should be done so as to allow an equal number of them to each of these original tribes, as was done in effect by this constitution, whereby five new ones were added to the four then subsisting, that in all they might complete the number of nine and each tribe have three. But as it was proposed that those additional members should be chosen out of the number of the people, the senators discovered no less resentment upon this occasion, than when they saw themselves obliged to share the consulate with the plebeians. “ This regulation, they said, concerned the Gods more than them, and it was their province to take care, that their worship should be preserved in it’s purity. The senate only wished this innovation might not entail some heavy calamity on the state.” But the opposition they made was not very violent, because they had been accustomed to fail in these disputes, and saw that it was not with their adversaries now as it had been formerly, since then they laid claim to the highest offices of the state with very small hopes of obtaining them, whereas now they had carried all they contended

tended for with the most precarious prospects of success, and had often been actually raised to the honor of consulates, censorships and triumphs.

CHAP.

VII.

YET it is said, there was a warm dispute between Appius Claudius and P. Decius Mus, the one exerting himself with great vigor against, and the other in support of the motion. The arguments they used on this occasion, with regard to the privileges of the patricians and plebeians, were much the same with those which had been employed for and against the Licinian law, when the commons laid claim to the consulship. Decius laid before the people a lively representation of his father, in the situation, wherein many who were now present in the assembly had seen him, when with his garments tucked up in the Gabinian form, and standing upon a javelin, he devoted himself to death for the safety of the Roman people. “ Then he added, that Publius Decius, the
 “ consul at that time, appeared as pure and spot-
 “ less in the eyes of the immortal Gods as his colleague
 “ T. Manlius would have done, had he devoted
 “ himself upon the same occasion. And could not
 “ the same P. Decius have been warrantably elected
 “ to offer the public sacrifices of the Roman people?
 “ Was there any danger that the Gods would not
 “ lend such a favorable ear to his prayers as those
 “ of Appius Claudius? Did this Appius offer up
 “ private sacrifices with more pure hands, or wor-
 “ ship with greater fervor and devotion than he?
 “ Was there any person who had reason to be dis-
 “ satisfied with the solemn vows, which so many
 “ plebeian consuls and dictators had offered up for
 “ the safety of the republic, before they went to take
 “ upon them the command of armies, or with
 “ their conduct during the course of their wars?
 “ Let them reckon up all the generals since the time
 “ that plebeians first were entrusted with the conduct
 “ and command of armies, and count all the tri-
 “ umphs since that period, it would be found that
 “ the plebeians had no ground to be dissatisfied with
 “ the

“ the nobility they had acquired by their warlike ex-
 “ ploits. And he was fully persuaded that if any
 “ sudden war should break out at that time, the se-
 “ nate and people of Rome would have no greater
 “ confidence in the abilities of their patrician than
 “ their plebeian generals. Since then matters are
 “ thus, said he, can any God or man think it a
 “ crime to confer the badges of the pontificate, or
 “ the ornaments of the augurs, upon those whom
 “ you have already honored with the curule chair,
 “ the purple robe, the painted vesture, as well as that
 “ adorned with palm, the triumphal coronet, the
 “ laurel crown, and whose houses you have distin-
 “ guished from the rest with the spoils of conquered
 “ enemies? Who can take it amiss to see that person
 “ with a sacred cup or augural staff in his hand, and
 “ his head veiled, killing a victim, or observing the
 “ flight of birds from the top of the citadel, whom
 “ he has already beheld arrayed in the ornaments of
 “ almighty Jove, riding through the city in a gild-
 “ ed chariot of state, and ascending to the capitol in
 “ all that pomp and splendor? Will the eyes of any
 “ person, who, with joy, reads in the inscription of
 “ a plebeian’s statue, of the consulates, censorships
 “ and triumphs of the person it represents, be offend-
 “ ed with the addition of the augural office or pon-
 “ tificate? The truth is, I may justly say, without
 “ any offence to the immortal Gods, that by the
 “ favor of the Roman people we have already risen
 “ to such dignity and reputation in the state, as that
 “ we can receive no honor from the priestly office;
 “ which shall be more considerable than the addi-
 “ tional lustre we are capable to give it; and it is
 “ more for the sake of the Gods than our own, that
 “ we are ambitious to serve them in public with
 “ the same zeal we now worship them in our private
 “ families.

“ BUT why have I, in the preceding part of CHAP.
 “ this speech, seemed to suppose the patricians in
 “ full possession of all the parts of the priesthood, VIII.
 “ without

CHAP.

VIII.

“ without taking notice that we are now invested
 “ with one that claims the greatest veneration? We
 “ see at this day plebeians created decemvirs for the
 “ due performance of the sacred rites, honored with
 “ the privilege of interpreting the predictions of
 “ Sybilla and the destiny of this people, trusted
 “ with the administration of the sacrifice offered to
 “ Apollo, and other sacred ceremonies. Nor was
 “ there any injustice done the patricians when the
 “ number of the duumvirs, whose business it is to
 “ oversee the performance of divine service, was in-
 “ creased to make room for the plebeians; and now
 “ that this brave and resolute tribune has proposed to
 “ add five new members to the college of augurs,
 “ four to that of priests, and insists that these places
 “ should be filled up by commoners, it is not
 “ with design to dispossess your order, Appius, but
 “ that the plebeians may assist you in the celebration
 “ of the mysteries of religion, as they now join issue
 “ with you to excellent purpose in human and civil
 “ affairs. Don’t be ashamed, Appius, to accept of a
 “ man as your colleague in the priesthood, who might
 “ have shared the censorship or the consulate with
 “ you, under whom in the high station of dictator
 “ you might have served as general of the horse, as
 “ well as he might have happened to be general of
 “ the horse and you dictator. The ancient patricians
 “ of Rome admitted into their own number a Sa-
 “ bine stranger, one Atta Clausus^a, or if you rather
 “ chuse to call him Appius Claudius, the source
 “ and spring of all the nobility your family can boast.
 “ Do not you then disdain to admit us into the num-
 “ ber of priests, for we shall bring many honorable
 “ titles along with us, even all those which have
 “ made you so proud. L. Sextius was the first ple-
 “ beian who was advanced to the dignity of con-
 “ sul^b, and C. Licinius Stolo the first general of the
 “ horse^c. C. Marcius Rutilus was the first of that

^a See vol. i. p. 139.^b Vol. ii. p. 222.^c Ibid. p. 211.

“ order

“ order who was made dictator^d and censor^e, and
 “ Q. Publilius Philo the first prætor^f. We have
 “ always heard you repeating the same stale pre-
 “ tence you use on this occasion, that you are the
 “ only persons who have a right to the auspices, you
 “ are the only persons descended of great and ho-
 “ norable families, and you, and none but you, are
 “ entitled to the management and direction of the
 “ affairs of the state both in peace and war. The
 “ plebeians have been always hitherto as successful
 “ in the management of the weighty affairs of state
 “ as the patricians, and so they will still continue to
 “ be. Have you never heard that the nobility were
 “ at first created not of persons sent down from hea-
 “ ven, but of such as could ascertain their fathers,
 “ that is who were nothing more than freemen? But
 “ I can now say that my father was a Roman con-
 “ sul, and my son may by and by assert the same of
 “ his grandfather. There is nothing more in this dis-
 “ pute, Romans, but that we want to be admitted
 “ to all our just privileges that are denied us, and
 “ the patricians want only an opportunity to con-
 “ tend with us, nor are they much concerned how
 “ these contentions end. For my part, I am of
 “ opinion that this bill should be passed in the ordi-
 “ nary form, and heartily wish it may be auspicious
 “ and prosperous to you and the whole state.”

CHAP.
VIII.

UPON this the people immediately ordered the
 tribes to be called, and it was evident that the law
 would be passed, but one day was lost by the in-
 terposition of the tribunes; however the next the tri-
 bunes were afraid to continue their opposition, so
 that it passed with very great unanimity, and these
 four, P. Decius Mus who had preferred the bill, P.
 Sempronius Sophus, C. Marcius Rutilus, and M. Li-
 vius Denter were created priests, and the following
 five, who were also plebeians, viz. C. Genucius, P.
 Ælius Pætus, M. Minucius Fessus, C. Marcius and

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IX.^d Ibid. p. 250.^f Vol. ii. p. 328.^e See below c. 47. of this book.

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IX.

T. Publilius, augurs. So that the number of the former was encreased to eight and that of the latter to nine. The same year M. Valerius the consul got the law passed concerning appeals, and that privilege more effectually secured to the people. This was the third time this law had passed^a, since the expulsion of kings, and always by the interest of the same family. In my opinion there was no reason for renewing it so often, but that the interest and power of a few bore hard upon the liberty of the people in general. Yet the Porcian law seems to be the only one that was made for saving the citizens from corporal punishment, because a severe penalty was annexed to it against any person who should beat or put to death a freeman of Rome; whereas the Valerian law simply prohibited whipping or beheading such as should appeal to the people, and added no other sanction but that those who did otherwise, acted a very wicked part. For so great was the moderation of the Romans at that time, that I am apt to think they looked upon this as a sufficient restraint. What a vast difference between those days and the present age, wherein a person who would annex such a penalty to any law would scarce seem to be in earnest! The same consul made war against the Æqui, but nothing remarkable happened in this expedition, because that people retain'd nothing of their former greatness, but their proud and haughty spirits. Appuleius the other consul besieged Nequinum^b a city of Umbria. The town stood in the same place where Narnia is now built, and was every where of difficult access; but one part of it particularly was on the top of a precipice, so that he could neither carry it by storm nor regular approaches; and for that reason it held out till the new consuls, M. Fulvius Pætus and T. Manlius Torquatus entered upon their office. Macer Licinius and Tubero say,

M. Fulvius
Pætus and
T. Manlius
Torquatus
consuls. •
Y. of R. 453.
B. J. C. 299.

^a Vol. i. p. 126, 310.

^b Now Narni, on the declivity of a hill in the Ecclesiastical state. It's

former name was derived from the Latin word *nequitia*, corruption of *manners*.

that

that when all the centuries without solicitation had named Q. Fabius as one of the consuls, he himself advised them to delay conferring that honor upon him till a war of greater importance should break out, because he could be of greater service to the state, in some inferior office in the city. And as he hereby plainly hinted what he wanted, though he did not in express terms demand it, they chose him curule ædile in conjunction with Papirius Cursor. I would not assert this as a certain truth, because it is opposed by Piso a more ancient historian, who affirms, that C. Domitius, Cn. Fulvius, Calvinus, Sp. Carvilius and Q. Fabius Maximus were curule ædiles that year. And I am apt to think the surname of Maximus has occasioned a mistake in the accounts we have of these magistrates, and this led historians to jumble the consuls and ædiles of that year together. In this year also the censors P. Sempronius Sophus, and P. Sulpicius Saverrio closed the lustrum, and the Arnian^c and Terentine^d tribes were added to the former number.

CHAP.
IX.

THESE were the transactions at Rome ; but with regard to Nequinum, when the siege of that place proceeded but slowly, and the Romans were wasting their time before it, two of the townsmen whose houses join'd close to the wall, having dug a passage

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X.

^c It is probable, that the tribe of the Anio is not the tribe here spoken of, but the tribe of the Arno, or tribus Arnienfis. The copyists might very probably take Arnienfis for Anienfis. Add to this, that the Romans had just carried on their conquests to the river Arnus, now the Arno ; after they had defeated the Hettrurians, first near Sutri, and afterwards near Perugia. They even penetrated as far as Umbria. So that the circumstances of time and place shew, that Livy meant the tribe of the Arno, and not the tribe of the Anio. See Vol. II. p. 153. n. e.

^d As to the tribe Terentina, we don't know it's ancient situation ; but we suppose it possessed a canton

of Hettruria, though most moderns are of a different opinion. Some have thought, without reason, that the city of Tarentum gave name to this tribe ; but they did not consider, that the most distant of the country-tribes were that of the Arno, towards the north, and the tribe Falerina, near Campania. Others have thought, that the tribe Terentina was so called, from a part of the Campus Martius, called Tarentum. But is it likely, the Romans should be so long before they erected a tribe in a place which was a part of the territory of Rome ? It is more natural to place it in some canton of Hettruria, which the republic had just then made subject to her dominion.

CHAP. under ground, got secretly to the Roman out-guards,
 X. and being brought to the consul, undertook to conduct a body of armed men into the city. This general thought he ought not absolutely to reject their offer, nor rashly trust their fidelity. Wherefore he sent two of his own men with one of them through the subterraneous passage into the city, and detain'd the other as an hostage. The two spies having sufficiently examined into the matter, a detachment of three hundred men, with one of the deserters for their guide, got into the town, in the night time, made themselves masters of the nearest gate, and after breaking it open, the consul with the Roman army entered without resistance, and surprized the place. A colony which took it's name from the river Nar^a, which runs under the place, was sent thither to prevent the incursions of the Umbrians, and the army with a rich booty led back to Rome. The Hetrurians notwithstanding the truce that subsisted between the two nations made preparations for war : but while their thoughts were thus employed, a great army of the Gauls, having entered their dominions, diverted them for some time from their design. Soon after depending upon their riches, which were very great, they endeavored to make these enemies their friends, in order to unite the two armies, and jointly make war against the Romans. The Barbarians were not averse to the alliance, the only difficulty was to settle the sum they were to have for their hire. When this was agreed upon and paid, the other preparations for the war being also completed, the Hetrurians ordered them to take the field ; they said they had not engaged to make war upon the Romans, and what they had received

^a The Nar, now called by the Italians, La Nera, rises in that Apennine hill, which the ancients call Mons Fiscellus, near the confines of the Marquisate of Ancona. From thence it takes it's course to Umbria, which it divides from Sabinia, and discharges itself into the Tyber. It's

waters are whitish, and almost of the color of sulphur ; for which reason the Sabines gave it the name of Nar, which in their language answers to the Latin word sulphur. Virgil had this Sabine word in view, when he said, *Æneid.* 7.

Sulphurea Nar albus aqua.

was in consideration of their forbearing to ravage the Hettrurian lands and employ their arms against the inhabitants, yet they would serve against the Romans if the Hettrurians desired it; but upon no other condition than that of having a part of their territory assigned them, and that at last they should be admitted to some certain and fixed residence. The general diet of Hettruria met several times upon this affair, but could bring it to no conclusion, not so much from an aversion to part with a share of their lands, as because they were all afraid of receiving such a savage nation into their neighborhood. Thus the Gauls being dismissed, carried home with them a vast sum of money which they got without exposing themselves to the fatigues or dangers of war, and the apprehensions the Romans were under of being attacked at once by the united armies of the Gauls and Hettrurians, determined them to make the greater dispatch in concluding their treaty with the people of Picenum^e.

THE province of Hettruria fell by lot to Manlius, who had scarce entered the enemy's country when, as he happened to be exercising among the cavalry, and wheeling about at full career, he fell off his horse and was very near killed on the spot. He only survived this fall three days. The Hettrurians looking upon this accident as a presage of their success, and boasting that the Gods had begun the war in their favor, were in high spirits; whereas the accounts of the loss of so great a man, and the unlucky juncture when it happened, so afflicted the Romans, that nothing could have diverted the senate from nominating a dictator, but the comitia which the principal men of that body advised to be assembled for the election of a consul to succeed him. For all the centuries unanimously chose M. Valerius Corvus, who was the very person whom the senate intended to have made dictator, and ordered him to set out directly for Hettruria, and take upon him the command of

^e It lay to the East of Umbria and Sardinia.

CHAP.

XI.

the legions. His coming intimidated the Hetrurians so much, that none of them durst venture without their lines, and their own fear confined them within their works as close as a blockade. Nor could the new consul draw them to a battle, even when he laid waste their country by fire and sword, and let them see not only their farm-houses, but their best inhabited villages all around in flames. As this war lasted longer than was expected, the information the Romans received from the Picentes their new allies, gave rise to reports of another, which, considering the many losses sustain'd by both sides, was justly to be dreaded. For this people gave notice that the Samnites were upon the point of taking up arms, and renewing the war, and that they had invited them to join them. The fathers returned the Picentes thanks, and the senate's care was in great measure transferred from the Hetrurians to the Samnites. The city was also distressed with dearth of provisions; and according to those historians, who assert, that Fabius Maximus was ædile this year, they would have reduced to the greatest extremity, if his care had not been as remarkable at home, in distributing provisions to the people, buying up corn and bringing it to the city, as it had been abroad on many former occasions of war and danger. This year the government fell into an interregnum, but no account is given of the reason why this happened. Appius Claudius and P. Sulpicius served successively in the office of interrex. The latter held the comitia for the election of consuls, and advanced L. Cornelius Scipio and Cn. Fulvius to that dignity. In the beginning of this year the Lucanian^a ambassadors came to the new consuls, complaining, "that the Samnites, because they could not prevail with them on any terms to join in the war against Rome, had entered their dominions with an hostile army, laid waste their country, and endeavored to force them to it by violent measures. "The

L. Cornelius
Scipio and
Cn. Fulvius
consuls.

Y. of R. 454.
B. J. C. 298.

“ The Lucanians had too far mistaken their interest
 “ some time ago, but they were now so fully de-
 “ termined against the like conduct, as to think it
 “ better to suffer the greatest extremities, than ever
 “ after to offer the least injury to the Roman name.
 “ They therefore entreated the fathers to receive
 “ them into their protection, and defend them from
 “ the violence and oppression of the Samnites. And
 “ for their part, though having now engaged in a
 “ war with that people, necessity itself obliged them
 “ to be faithful to the Romans, yet over and above
 “ they were ready to give hostages as a further proof
 “ of their inviolable attachment to their interest.”

THE senate was not long in deliberating upon the affair, they declared unanimously for concluding a treaty with the Lucanians, and demanding restitution from the Samnites. Accordingly the Lucanians received a gracious answer, and the treaty with them was ratified. The *feciales* were also sent “ to
 “ order the Samnites to depart from the territory of
 “ the Roman allies, and withdraw their armies from
 “ the dominions of Lucania.” But the Samnites sent messengers to meet them on the way, and intimate, “ that if they should appear in any assembly within Samnium, they should not escape with
 “ impunity.” As soon as these accounts were brought to Rome, the senate agreed upon a war against the Samnites, and the people ordered it to be proclaimed. The consuls shared the provinces between them, and *Hetruria* having fallen to *Scipio*, and *Samnium* to *Fulvius*, they both repaired to their respective posts. Though the former expected that the war in which he commanded would be spun out as it had been the year before, the enemy met him in good order at *Volaterra*^a. The battle which ensued

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XII.

^a The canton of *Volaterra*, was formerly one of the twelve *Hetrurian* lucumonies. The city stood beyond the river *Arnus*, a little way from the river *Cæcina*, on the summit of a steep mountain, whose declivity

was, according to *Strabo*, fifteen stadia, that is, above two thousand geometrical paces, from the ridge to the foot. It is now called *Volaterra*, and belongs to the great duke of *Tuscany*.

CHAP.

XII.

lasted the greatest part of the day with great slaughter on both sides, and the night came on before victory had declared for either. However the next morning plainly distinguished the conquerors from the conquered. For the Hetrurians had left their camp under the silence of the night. The Roman consul, on the other hand, advancing into the field, as soon as he saw himself in possession of the victory by the enemy's retreat, marched to their camp; and as the Hetrurians had abandoned their tents in great consternation, when he found it empty he seized the rich booty they had left in it. Upon this he led back his army to the country of the Falisci^b, and having left his baggage at Falerii^c, with a small guard, he marched the rest of the troops lightly armed to ravage the enemy's country. There he put all to fire and sword, plundered all places around, nor did he only leave the lands desolate for the enemy, but also set their forts and villages on fire; yet he did not lay siege to their great towns, into which fear had determined the Hetrurians to fly for shelter. Cn. Fulvius the consul fought a signal battle at Bovianum in Samnium, wherein the victory was by no means doubtful. And upon this success he assaulted Bovianum, and soon after took Aufidena^d by storm.

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XIII.

IN the same year a colony was led to Carseoli in the territory of the Æquicolæ^a, and Fulvius the consul triumphed over the Samnites. When the comitia for electing consuls was very near at hand, a report spread that the Hetrurians and Samnites were raising large armies, the former in all their assemblies, openly taxed their leading men, because they had not at any rate prevailed with the Gauls to join them in the war: and the Samnites reproached their

^b See Vol. II. p. 247. n. 2.

^c Ibid.

^d As for the city of Aufidena, it stood near the river Sagrus, now the Sangro, and is at present called Alfidena. Ptolomy places it in the canton of the Caracini, on the fron-

tiers of the territory of the Fren-tani. The name of Caracini was probably given to the inhabitants of this little country, from the name of a strong place, which Zonaras calls Caricium.

^a Vol. I. p. 62. note b.

magistrates,

magistrates, for exposing as a prey to the Romans an army which was only designed to deal with the Lucanians. So that the enemies of the republic thus mustering up all their own strength, and that of their allies for this war, the Romans could by no means be a match for them. And though several very considerable men stood candidates for the consulship, yet the present consternation fixed the eyes of all upon Q. Fabius Maximus, who at first did not solicit for it, but at last when he observed the people so strongly inclined to promote him to that dignity, refused the honor they designed him, asking them, “ why they molested him now that he was old, and “ had already undergone all the fatigues of state, as “ well as received the rewards of them. The strength “ of his body and vigor of his mind were not the “ same they had been before, and he was afraid of “ Fortune herself, lest any of the Gods should think “ she was too much inclined to favor him, and more “ constant in her attachment than was consistent “ with the ordinary course of human affairs. He “ had succeeded in glory those who were superior “ to him in years, and observed with pleasure others “ growing up to succeed himself in the dignities he “ had enjoyed. There were plenty of honors in “ Rome for the bravest men, and enough of brave “ men to enjoy these honors.” By this moderation he more and more engaged the affections of the people, which he so justly deserved; but he thought they ought to be restrain’d by the respect due to the laws of their country, and therefore ordered that to be read which prohibited chusing the same person to be twice consul in the space of ten years^b. The law could scarcely be heard for the noise of the people, and their tribunes said, “ that should be no obstacle to his pro- “ motion, for they would prefer a bill to the people “ that those laws should be dispensed with in his “ case.” Yet he continued steadfast in refusing the honor intended him, and often asked “ what laws

^b Vol. II. p. 296.

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“ could signify, if they were eluded by the very
 “ persons who had proposed them at first? In that
 “ event they would not govern men, but on the
 “ contrary be subjected to their caprice.” Notwith-
 standing all this the people began to give their suf-
 frages, and as the particular centuries were called in
 to give their voices, they never fail’d to name Q.
 Fabius for the consulate. Then at last over-persuad-
 ed by the united desires of the citizens, “ may the
 “ Gods, said he, approve of the choice you have
 “ made and are yet to make; but as you are to
 “ deal with me as you think proper, please to shew
 “ me your favor with regard to my colleague, and
 “ let me beg of you to advance to the consulship to-
 “ gether with me P. Decius, with whom I have lived in
 “ perfect harmony, when we were colleagues before,
 “ a person worthy of you and of his great father
 “ who devoted himself to death for the state.”

His demand appeared reasonable, and therefore all
 the remaining centuries chose Q. Fabius and P. De-
 cius consuls. The same year the ædiles impeached
 a great many citizens for possessing more land than
 was allowed by law^c; nor was any of them acquit-
 ted, which proved a great restraint upon the exces-
 sive covetousness of the richer sort.

Q. Fabius
 and P. Decius
 consuls.

Y. of R. 455.
 B. J. C. 29 J.

CHAP.

XIV.

WHILE the new consuls Fabius Maximus for
 the fourth, and P. Decius Mus for the third time,
 were concerting between themselves, that the one
 should march against the Samnites and the other a-
 gainst the Hetrurians, what number of troops would
 be necessary in each of these provinces, and which
 was the most proper general to command them, em-
 bassadors came from Sutrium^a, Nepete^b and Falerii
 to inform them that a general diet of all the states of
 Hetruria were met to concert measures for making
 propositions of peace, upon which they turned the
 whole force of their arms against the Samnites. And
 that the army might be the more easily supplied with
 provisions, and the enemy the more at a loss about

^c Vol. II. p. 203.

^a Vol. II. p. 148. n. a.

^b Vol. I. p. 86. n. a.

the place where they were to be attacked, the con-
sul Fabius marched to Samnium through the terri-
tory of Soranum, and Decius through that of Si-
dicinum. When they came to the enemy's domi-
nion each dispersed his troops into small parties to
ravage the country, yet they took care to reconnoitre
every particular place before they adventured to pill-
age it. By means of this precaution they got no-
tice that the enemy had posted themselves so as
to command a deep valley at Tifernum, before
they entered into that pass themselves, or the Sam-
nites had any opportunity to distress them from the
eminences whereof they were in possession. Up-
on this information Fabius having sent his baggage
to a place of safety, and detached a small command
of men to guard it, acquainted his troops that he
intended to attack the enemy, and then marched in
four columns directly to the place where the Sam-
nites had conceal'd themselves. The latter despair-
ing of an opportunity of falling upon the Romans
unprovided and at a disadvantage, and finding that
they could not avoid a battle, chose to engage their
enemies upon equal terms. With this intention they
came down into the plain, and gave them battle with
greater intrepidity than hopes of success. And whe-
ther it was that the Samnites upon this occasion had
mustered up the whole force of all the states in their
country, or that as their all was at stake, the danger
to which they were exposed had animated them with
extraordinary degrees of courage; it is certain that
though they were not posted to advantage, they
struck a great terror into the hearts of their ene-
mies. Fabius observing that he could no where
oblige the Samnites to give way, dispatched M. Ful-
vius and M. Valerius, two legionary tribunes, who
together with himself had advanced to the first ranks,
to the cavalry, with orders to remonstrate in the
strongest terms, "that as they might remember
"the state had been often rescued from great dan-
"ger by the interposition of the Roman horse;
"it

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CHAP. XIV. “ it had never greater occasion for their assistance
 “ than at this day, and therefore press them to exert themselves with the utmost vigor upon this
 “ occasion, and raise the glory of the equestrian order to the highest pitch : because the enemy had
 “ stood the shock of the infantry without losing ground, and there was no further hope of driving them off the field, if it could not be done
 “ by the vigorous attack of the cavalry.” And to prevail with these two young men to acquit themselves of their commission with the greater zeal, he addressed them both by name in the most obliging manner, and encouraged them with great commendations and extensive promises. But in case this expedient should also prove unsuccessful, he resolved where strength fail’d him, to employ art and stratagem. With this intention he ordered Scipio his lieutenant general, to draw the hastati of the first legion out of the line of battle, and fetch a compass as covertly as he could to the nearest mountains, then to march up to the top of them unseen, and coming down again at full speed to shew himself all of a sudden behind the enemy. The horse under the conduct of the two legionary tribunes, advancing all of a sudden and making their attack in the front, occasioned little less confusion in their own army than in that of the enemies, which stood the shock of their squadrons with great intrepidity, and could no where be broken or obliged to quit their post ; so that after miscarrying in their attempt they left the battle and retreated behind the standards. This retreat gave fresh spirits to the Samnites, nor could the first ranks of the Roman army have supported the fatigue of such a long attack, nor the force of the enemy which encreased with their hopes of victory, if the second line by the consul’s order had not advanced and taken their places. Those with fresh vigor stopt the fury of the Samnites who before were gaining ground, and the troops which by this time came unexpectedly from the mountains

mountains with colours flying and frightful shouts, struck greater terror into the minds of the enemy than the occasion required. For Fabius called aloud that his colleague Decius was at hand. The soldiers transported with joy cried out that the other consul with his legions was come to their assistance, and the same mistake which promoted the interest of the Romans by supplying them with a flow of new spirits, fill'd the Samnites with terror and disposed them to take the flight, as they were under the greatest apprehensions that this fresh army would fall upon them, now that they were worn out with fatigue, and entirely cut them to pieces. However as they fled different ways and dispersed, the slaughter bore no proportion to the greatness of the victory. For only three thousand four hundred were killed on the spot, and near three hundred and thirty made prisoners, with three and twenty standards.

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THE Apulians would have joined the Samnites before the engagement, if P. Decius the consul had not encamped opposite to them at Maleventum, and having drawn them out to battle, defeated them. Howbeit more of them escaped by flight than fell in the action; for the number of the slain did not exceed two thousand, and Decius despising that enemy marched his legions into Samnium. There the two consular armies, taking different routs, overran all the country and laid every thing waste, for the space of five months. Decius encamped in forty-five different places in Samnium, and his colleague in eighty-six. Nor did they only leave behind them the traces of their ditches and ramparts, but likewise the most dismal signs of their devastations, and of a country entirely depopulated. Fabius also took the city Cimetra^a, in which two thousand four hundred men in arms were made prisoners, and four hundred and thirty were slain in the attack. From thence he went to Rome in order to preside at the election of consuls, and made all the haste he could to di-

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^a No traces of it remain,

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spatch that business. And when all the centuries that were first called upon to give their suffrages, voted for Q. Fabius to be consul, Ap. Claudius a consular candidate and a fiery ambitious man, not more for the sake of procuring that honor to himself, than for the recovery of both the consular offices to the patricians, not only employed his own endeavors, but was likewise supported by the united interest of the whole body of the nobility in order to be elected consul in conjunction with Q. Fabius. As for Fabius indeed, he at first refused to accept that office, alledging the same reasons that he had done the year before. But all the nobility stood round his chair, and begged him in the most pressing manner, not only to take the consulship from the dregs of the commons, but also to restore the office itself, and the patrician families to their ancient splendor. After silence was made, Fabius allayed these heats by a speech equally favorable to both parties. For he said that he would have ordered matters so as to have received the names of two patricians, if he had seen that they intended to make any other person consul besides himself; “but that he was resolved not to “suffer himself to be nominated at this election, seeing it would be contrary to law, and set a very “bad precedent for the future.” Upon which L. Volumnius a plebeian, and Ap. Claudius were declared consuls, having bore that office together before. The nobility used to object to Fabius, that he was averse to the having Ap. Claudius for his colleague, who was, without dispute, an excellent orator and well versed in the arts of government.

L. Volumn.
and Ap.
Claudius
consuls.
Y. of R. 528.
B. J. C. 224.

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THE election being over, the former consuls were continued in the command of the army for six months, and were ordered to prosecute the war in Samnium. Accordingly the following year, in the consulate of L. Volumnius and Ap. Claudius, P. Decius, who being consul had been left by his colleague in Samnium, continued now in quality of pro-consul to ravage the Samnite lands, till their army not daring to face him

him in the field was at last driven out of the country. CHAP.

Upon this, they withdrew to Hetruria, and presum-
ing that with such a numerous body of armed men,
and by mixing threats with their entreaties, they
should be able to carry that point which they had
so often attempted by embassies in vain, demanded
that a general diet of the leading men of Hetruria
should be held. As soon as it was assembled they
represented that for a long course of years they
had fought with the Romans in defence of their li-
berty. “ They had tried all means, if happily
“ they might have been able to support the pro-
“ digious burden of the war with their own
“ strength: they had had recourse to the assistance
“ of the neighboring nations which had proved of
“ no great service to them. They had sought peace
“ of the Roman people, when they were no longer
“ able to maintain the war; and because peace in the
“ state of slavery, to which they found themselves
“ reduced, was more grievous than war had been
“ when they were freemen, they had once more had
“ recourse to it. The only hope they had now re-
“ maining was in the Hetrurians. They knew per-
“ fectly that they were the most powerful nation in
“ Italy, in men, money and warlike stores, and had
“ the Gauls for their neighbors, a people born amidst
“ arms and war, who are not only naturally fierce, but
“ more especially in a quarrel against the Romans,
“ whom they justly boast that they have conquer-
“ ed and obliged to ransom themselves with gold.
“ If the Hetrurians would only exert the same cou-
“ rage, which Porfenna and their ancestors had for-
“ merly done, nothing could hinder them from dis-
“ possessing the Romans of all the lands on this side
“ the Tiber, and obliging them to fight for their
“ own safety, and not for the establishment of their
“ insufferable sovereignty over Italy. They said
“ moreover, that the Samnite army was come to join
“ them ready for action, and furnished with arms
“ and pay, and that they would follow them di-

rectly,

“ rectly, if they would lead them to attack Rome
 “ itself.”

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WHILST they were boasting in this manner and forming these projects in Hetruria, the Roman troops destroyed their country. For as soon as P. Decius was informed by his scouts of the march of the Samnite army, he called a council of war, and said, “ why do we wander in this manner through the
 “ fields carrying the war from village to village?
 “ Why don’t we attack their cities and fortified
 “ places? There is no army now to defend Sam-
 “ nium. Their troops have abandoned their terri-
 “ tories, and in effect banished themselves.” As every body approved his motion, he led them to assault the strong city Murgantia^a; and so great was the ardor of the soldiers, both for the love they bore to their general, and the hopes they had of getting more plunder, than they had done by pillaging the country, that they carried the town by storm in one day. In this place two thousand one hundred Samnites that bore arms were surrounded, made prisoners, and a vast quantity of booty found. For fear the soldiers should encumber themselves with heavy baggage, Decius ordered them to be assembled, and addressed them as follows, “ will you, said he, be
 “ content with this conquest or with this prey? Do
 “ you intend to entertain hopes worthy of your bra-
 “ very? All the Samnite cities and the riches in
 “ them are yours, seeing you have routed their le-
 “ gions in so many engagements, and at last driven
 “ them out of their territories. Sell these things,
 “ and with the hopes of gain engage the buyers to
 “ follow the army. I will from time to time supply
 “ you with goods to sell. Let us go from hence to
 “ the city Romulea^b, where we shall meet with lit-
 “ tle toil but far more booty.” In consequence of this speech, after they had sold their prey, they of

^a Conjectured to be the present Morcone, in the county of Molise, in the kingdom of Naples.

^b It belonged to the Hirpini, a people of Samnium, and stood on the Apennines. It is now called Bisaccia.
 their

their own accord exhorted their general to proceed CHAP.
in his enterprize and advanced streight to Romulea. XVII.

Neither did they raise works here or employ war-like engines, but marched directly to the place, and as the enemy was not able to repel them, immediately planted their ladders against the nearest parts they could come at, and scaled the walls. Thus the town was taken and plundered, two thousand three hundred of the enemy slain and six thousand made prisoners. The soldiers got a large quantity of spoil, which they were obliged to sell as before, and from thence, though they were allowed no time to refresh themselves, they marched to Ferentinum^a with great alacrity. Here indeed they met with more difficulty and danger, for the inhabitants defended the walls very bravely, and the place was fortified both by nature and art; but the soldiers, who had been accustomed to spoil, surmounted all obstacles. Three thousand of the enemy fell round the walls, and the Romans got the plunder. In some annals the greatest share of the glory of taking these cities is ascribed to Maximus. They say that Murgantia was taken by Decius, Ferentinum and Romulea by Fabius, while other historians attribute these things to the new consuls. On the other hand, some ascribe the glory of these achievements not to them both, but to L. Volumnius, to whom they pretend the province of Samnium fell.

DURING these transactions in that country, it CHAP.
is no great matter under whose conduct and auspices XVIII.
they were performed, a great many nations of Hetruria had entered into a confederacy, and were preparing a formidable war against the Romans, at the instigation of Gellius Egnatius a Samnite. Almost all the Hetrurians had taken arms; the contagion had reached the cantons of Umbria that lay next to them, and Gallic mercenaries were taken into

^a It formerly belonged to the of the Samnites. See Vol. II. p. 33. Hernici, but was now in possession note a. and 441. note a.

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their service. Their general rendezvous was the Samnite camp. When the news of this sudden armament reached Rome, because L. Volumnius, the consul, with the second and third legions and fifteen thousand of the allies, had marched into Samnium, it was thought proper to dispatch Ap. Claudius into Hetruria with all possible speed. Two Roman legions, the first and the fourth, and twelve thousand of the allies marched under his command, and encamped not far from the enemy. Their seasonable arrival indeed was of use to the republic, and the terror of the Roman name overawed several nations that began to think of taking part with the Hetrurians, more than either the conduct or the fortune of the consul. He often encountered the enemy on disadvantageous ground and at improper times, so that their hopes were raised, and they daily became more and more formidable. Matters were almost brought to that pass, that the soldiers could not well confide in him nor he in his men. In three several annals I find, Appius sent letters to his colleague, desiring him to come to him from Samnium ; but as the thing is uncertain, I am loth to insert it, seeing the Roman consuls, who were now colleagues together in that office for the second time, differed about it, Appius refusing that he had dispatched any letters to him, and Volumnius averring that he had been sent for by Appius. By this time Volumnius had made himself master of three forts in Samnium, in which he had put to the sword about three thousand of the enemy, and made half that number prisoners. He had composed the seditions of the Lucanians^a, that had been excited by some of the commons and the poorer sort, to the entire satisfaction of the principal persons among them, by means of Q. Fabius the proconsul whom he had sent thither with an army of veteran troops. He left Decius to lay waste the enemy's land, and marched himself with his troops into Hetruria to his colleague. Upon his arrival, he was received with universal joy.

^a Vol. II. p. 345. note a.

For my own part, I do think that Appius had just reason to be angry, if he was conscious that he had wrote him no letters, and that if he really wanted his assistance, it was very ungrateful and unhandfom for him to dissemble as he did. For when he went out to meet him, and before they had scarce saluted one another: “Is all well, said he, L. Volumnius? “How go affairs in Samnium? What reason hath “induced you to leave your province?” Volumnius answered, “Matters went on successfully in Samnium; he was now come in obedience to his “letters; and if there was no occasion for him “in Hetruria, he would instantly turn his ensigns “and march back again.” Upon which Appius said, “You may go, nobody hinders you: for it is a “very unseemly thing in you, who perhaps are not “sufficient to carry on your own war, to boast that “you are come hither to assist others.” “May “God send us good luck, replied Volumnius! I “had rather lose my labor than any thing should “have happened, whereby one consular army should “not have been a sufficient match for the forces of “Hetruria.”

AS the consuls were parting, the lieutenant generals and legionary tribunes of Appius’s army stood round them: some of them earnestly besought their own general not to refuse the assistance of his colleague, which he ought really to have demanded, now that it was so willingly offered. But the greater part of them stopped Volumnius, who was going away, and intreated him “not to betray the republic on account of any unseasonable dispute with his colleague. If any disaster should happen, it would “be imputed rather to the deserter than the deserted. That matters were brought to this pass, that “the whole honor or dishonor of the war in Hetruria, whether it should be conducted well or “ill, would fall upon Volumnius. No body would “enquire what Appius’s words were, but what had “been the success of the army. It was true, Ap-

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“ pius had dismissed him, but the republic and
 “ army detained him, and for a proof thereof, he
 “ should only try the affections of the soldiers.” By
 these arguments and entreaties, they drew the con-
 suls into the assembly almost against their wills.
 There they proceeded to longer speeches, which
 were much to the same purpose with the bickering
 they had had before in the presence of a few officers.
 And when Volumnius, as having the better cause,
 seemed to make a smart defence against the uncom-
 mon eloquence of his colleague, Appius taunt-
 ingly said, “ they ought to attribute it to him,
 “ that of a dumb speechless consul, they had now
 “ so great an orator ; one who in his former
 “ consulship, especially during the first months of
 “ it, could not so much as open his mouth,
 “ but was now able to make popular harangues.”
 Upon which Volumnius answered, “ Would to
 “ God, Appius, you had rather learnt of me to
 “ fight bravely, than I of you to speak well. To
 “ conclude, he said, he gave him his choice,
 “ whence it would appear not which of them was
 “ the better orator, for the republic did not want
 “ that, but which of them was the best general.
 “ There were two provinces, Hetruria and Sam-
 “ nium, he might chuse which of them he would,
 “ and with his own army should carry on the
 “ war in either of them.” Then the soldiers cri-
 ed aloud to them to prosecute the war in Hetruria
 jointly. Volumnius observing their unanimity, an-
 swered, “ that having mistaken the inclinations
 “ of his colleague, he would take care to under-
 “ stand their mind distinctly. Let me know
 “ therefore, said he, by a shout whether you would
 “ have me stay or go.” Then indeed they set up
 such a loud one, that it drew the enemy out of their
 camp, and snatching up their arms they marched
 down into the field. Upon which Volumnius or-
 dered the trumpets to sound and the standards
 to be brought out of the camp. Appius, as is re-
 ported,



ported, perceiving the victory would be ascribed to his colleague, whether he fought or not, was for some time in suspense what to do; but being afraid that his legions would follow Volumnius, he likewise gave them the signal for battle, which they demanded with great ardor. Neither they nor the enemy were regularly drawn up, for Gellius Egnatius the Samnite commander was gone a foraging with a few cohorts, and the soldiers begun the battle rather of their own head, than by the conduct and orders of any officer. The Roman armies likewise were not led forth together, nor had they time enough to be marshalled. Volumnius charged the enemy before Appius could come up. By this means their fronts were not equal when the action begun, and, as if some accident had changed the enemy they used to fight with, the Hetrurians encountered Volumnius, and the Samnites after waiting for some time on account of their general's absence, engaged Appius, who is said in the very heat of the battle, to have been seen amidst the foremost ranks with his hands lifted up to heaven, and to have made the following vow, "If thou, O Bellona^a, shalt give us the victory, I solemnly promise to build

" to

^a Bellona was worshipped by the Greeks, as the companion of Mars in armies, under the name of *Ἐννὼ*, whence the God of war was called *Ἐννάλιος*. The Romans gave this Goddess the same qualities, and often the same symbols, as Pallas. We find them both on the ancient monuments, in the same attitudes, and with the same arms. They are both armed with an helmet, a buckler, and a lance; so that it is very difficult to distinguish them on medals. The same Appius Claudius Cæcus, who in the midst of his engagement with the Hetrurians, made this vow to build a temple to Bellona, afterwards performed it. The ministers consecrated to the worship of Bellona, under the name of *Bellonarii*, generally confined themselves to the temples of the Goddess. They there affected frantick transports, which

they made pass for a prophetick enthusiasm. In these mad fits they armed themselves with daggers, cut themselves in all parts of their bodies; caught the blood which flowed from their wounds in a bowl, and offered it up to Bellona, by way of libation. To which Tertullian adds, ch. 9. of his apology for the Christians, that they distributed a part of this blood to those who were initiated in their mysteries. After this cruel operation, as if they had been intoxicated all on a sudden with some divine vapor, their looks grew wild, a sudden trembling seized them in all parts of their bodies, and they made the temple ring with their howlings. By these forced agitations, and hideous contortions, they imposed on the simple people, who took them for prophets; and as they were persuaded, that these impostors were possessed

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“to thee a temple^b.” After he had thus prayed, as if the Goddess herself had enflamed his courage, he equalled the valor of his colleague, and his army equalled the bravery of their commander. The generals performed their parts gallantly, and the soldiers made their last efforts for fear the other consul’s army should get the victory first. Accordingly they defeated and put to flight the enemy, who could not easily stand against a greater force than they used to deal with. And by pressing upon them when they retired, and pursuing them closely after they were quite routed, they drove them to their camp. There indeed by the coming up of Gellius and the Sabine cohorts, the battle was for a short time renewed. But they being quickly defeated, the conquerors assaulted their camp; and whilst Volumnius entered with colors flying at the gate, Appius frequently repeating the name of Bellona the Victorious, animated the courage of the soldiers to such a degree that they broke over the ditch and the rampart and forced their way into it. The camp was taken and rifled, a great quantity of plunder was found in it which was all given to the soldiers.

possessed by the spirit of the Goddess, the broken words they pronounced in these violent agitations, passed for so many oracles. Thus they first imposed on the credulous people, in making them believe, that they penetrated into the secrets of futurity: and then intimidated those who were present, with predictions of war, famine, and the like disasters. These mad fellows endeavored to give a visible representation of the fiery and turbulent temper of their supposed Goddess, by these affected and strange postures. This was the phanaticism, for which the pagans revered the priests of Bellona, who were therefore called Fanatici, by way of distinction, as being inspired persons, who did nothing, but what the divine spirit moved them to. The ancients call them by no other name.

^b This temple was built by his orders, beyond the walls, near the Circus Flaminius, without the gate

Carmentalis. After it was finished, he hung up in it the bucklers and images of his forefathers; and inscribed on the walls of it, all the titles of honour, which had been bestowed on his ancestors. This temple was built without the city; because of a prevailing superstition of that time, which made the people afraid of having any commerce with a Goddess, who delighted in slaughter and trouble. They were apprehensive, that if they received her respectfully into Rome, dissensions and quarrels would enter the city with her. She was thought a dangerous neighbour, in a city, whose safety and increase depended on the union of all its inhabitants. The senate used to assemble in it, to give audience to foreign ambassadors, who lodged without the city; and to the victorious generals, who claimed the honors of a triumph.

The enemy had seven thousand three hundred men slain, and two thousand one hundred and twenty taken prisoners.

WHILST both the consuls and the whole forces of the republic were chiefly employed against the CHAP.
xx.  Hetrurians, there were new troops raised to ravage the frontiers of the Roman empire, who taking their rout through the country of the Vescinians into Campania and Falernum carried thence much booty. And as Volumnius was returning by long marches into Samnium, because the time, for which Fabius and Decius had had their command continued, was near expired, the report of the Samnite army, and the devastations they committed in Campania made him turn aside to defend his allies. He was no sooner come into the territory of Cale^a, but he saw the recent marks of the havock they had made, and the inhabitants of it told him that the enemy carried so much booty, that their army could scarce march in order, and therefore their generals talked openly of their being obliged to return home to Samnium directly, that after leaving their plunder there, they might go on some new expedition, and not expose to the danger of a battle an army thus encumbered with spoil. Though these accounts seemed probable, yet he thought he ought to get more exact intelligence, and for that purpose dispatched some horsemen to intercept such foragers as they should find straggling through the fields. By examining them he learnt that the enemy were posted at the river Vultur^bus, and intended to set out from thence on their march to Samnium at the third watch. After he had made a sufficient discovery of these matters, he removed and encamped at such a proper distance from the enemy, that they could not perceive his approach by his advancing too near them, and at the same time he might be able to surprize them when they marched out of their camp. A little before daybreak, he sent some persons that un-

^a Vol. II. p. 329. note a.

^b Vol. II. p. 320. note d.

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derstood the Oscan language to learn what they were doing. And they having intermingled themselves with the enemy, which was easy to be done amidst their hurry and confusion in the night, brought him word that the first battalions were gone before with a small number of armed men for their guard, and that the booty with it's convoy was just setting out; that they were contemptible selfish wretches, each regarding only his own particular concerns, neither acting by any concert among themselves, nor directed by the orders of a general. This seemed the most proper time to charge the enemy, it beginning to draw towards day, and accordingly he gave the signal and fell upon them. The Samnites encumbered with the plunder, and few of them armed, began some of them to quicken their pace and to drive the booty before them: others stood, and while they were in suspense, whether to proceed on their march or to return back to the camp, they were cut to pieces. The Romans had by this time got over the ramparts, so that there was a terrible confusion and slaughter in the camp. Besides the Samnite army was not only put in disorder by this attack, but likewise by the sudden escape of the prisoners; part of whom being loosed untied the rest, and others snatching hold of the arms that were fastened to the baggage and mixing with the Samnites, made a much more dreadful confusion than the Roman soldiers did by their attack. Moreover they performed an action, that truly deserves to be recorded. For as Statius Egnatius the Samnite general went round the lines, animating his men, they charged him, and having broke the party of cavalry that guarded him, took him prisoner, and carried him to the Roman consul. Upon this attack the foremost of the Samnites were recalled, and the battle which was in a manner over begun afresh, but they could not stand it long. There were slain about six thousand and two thousand five hundred made prisoners, among whom there were four

four tribunes. The Romans took thirty standards, and what gave them more satisfaction than all the rest, they recovered seven thousand four hundred prisoners from the enemy and a large quantity of booty which they had taken from their allies, and they ordered the owners by a proclamation to come to claim and receive their goods. What were not claimed at the day appointed were given to the soldiers, but they were obliged to sell them, lest they should set their heart on any thing but war.

THE pillaging of Campania had occasioned a great consternation at Rome. And at the very same time it happened there came accounts from Hetruria, that upon the withdrawing of Volumnius's army out of those parts, the whole country was up again in arms, that Gellius Egnatius; the Samnite general, and the Umbrians, were invited to join with them in the revolt, and the Gauls engaged by large sums of money. The news of this alarmed the senate, and they ordered a vacation of all the courts of justice to be proclaimed and all sorts of men to be enlisted. Not only free born citizens and young people were obliged to take the military oath, but cohorts were composed of old men, and freedmen^a who had been registered in the centuries were enrolled. They also had under consideration the proper measures for defending the city, and committed the whole government of the state to P. Sempronius the prætor. But the senate were in some measure eased of this trouble by letters from L. Volumnius the consul, which brought advice that he had routed and destroyed the Samnites, who had plundered Campania. On account of this success, the senate ordered a solemn

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XXI.

^a We have often observed already, that according to the Roman laws, only persons of free condition had a right to be incorporated in the legions: and only such of these, as were of the five first classes instituted by Servius Tullius, were commonly admitted into them. The capite-censi, and proletarii, were generally excluded; only in great emergencies,

both they, and the freed-men, and slaves, were admitted. But the latter had their liberty given them at the same time; and so acquired a considerable advantage. They were put upon a foot with the other legionaries; and after having served a stated time, could, in their turns, enjoy honors, and military offices.

CHAP. XXI. procession to be made in the consul's name^b. The courts which had been shut for eighteen days were again opened, and the procession performed with exceeding great rejoicings. After this the fathers took into consideration the garisoning of the country that had been depopulated by the Samnites, and agreed to plant two colonies about the territory of Vescinum and Falernum; one at the mouth of the river Liris, which was called Minturna: the other in the forest of Vescinum adjoining to the country of Falernum, where Sinope a Grecian town is said to have stood, which was afterwards by the Roman colony called Sinuessæ^c. The tribunes had it given them in charge to procure an act of the people, ordering P. Sempronius the prætor to nominate triumvirs to lead out and settle the colonies in these places. But it was a difficult matter to find persons who would give in their names, because they thought they were not to be sent to inhabit lands, but to be posted on the frontiers of a country constantly infested by the enemy. The senate was diverted from any further concern about this matter, by the Etrurian war which grew daily more formidable, and the frequent letters which Appius sent, advising them to beware of the armaments preparing by that country. He sent word “ that four na-

^b These public prayers were called by the Romans, supplicationes. They were appointed by the senate to appease the wrath of the Gods, or to put a stop to a contagious distemper, or other great calamity; but chiefly, by way of thanksgiving for a victory, or the success of any enterprise, which had proved advantageous to the republic. Then the temples were opened, and all orders of men visited them with great ceremony. These pompous processions have been adopted into christianity, and consecrated in the church of Rome. During these solemnities, the whole city rung with joyful acclamations. Nothing was any where heard, but hymns sung to instruments of musick. The altars streamed with the blood

of victims, and the festival ended with sports, and public rejoicings. In a word, the courts of justice were shut up, and it was thought an offence against religion, to do any servile work on these days.

^c The ancient city of Sinuessæ was formerly one of the most considerable, in the country of the Aurunci. It stood beyond the river Liris, now the Gargiliano, nine or ten miles from Minturnæ. It has now been utterly destroyed for several ages. Modern geographers think it was not far from the castle, which is commonly called, in the language of the country, Rocca di Monte Dragono. There are indeed some footsteps of a great city, near that place.

tions, the Hetrurians, Samnites, Umbrians and CHAP.
 Gauls had united their forces, and encamped in XXI.
 two different places, because one was not suffi-
 cient to contain such a numerous army." On ac-
 count of these things, and because the time for hold-
 ing the comitia was approaching, L. Volumnius the
 consul was recalled. After assembling the people,
 before he called the centuries to vote, he in a long
 speech represented to them the greatness of the He-
 trurian war; " That very lately, when he and his
 colleague had been employed in that country, they
 had found the enemy too powerful for one gene-
 ral and one army. And it was now reported the
 Umbrians and a great army of the Gauls had since
 joined them. He desired they would remember that
 they were that day to chuse two consuls to make
 head against four nations, and declared, that if he
 was not firmly persuaded the Roman people
 would unanimously declare him consul, who was
 without all dispute reckoned to be the ablest ge-
 neral in the republic, he would instantly have no-
 minated a dictator."

NO body doubted but Fabius was the person CHAP.
 meant, accordingly the prerogative century^a, and XXII.
 all those that were first called upon chose him toge-
 ther with L. Volumnius consuls. Fabius excused
 himself in a speech, the same in substance with what
 he had made two years before; but being obliged
 to yield to the general voice of the people, he turned it
 to the demanding of P. Decius for his colleague. He
 said, " he would be a prop to his old age. He had
 found by experience in the censorship and two con-
 sulships which they had served together, that nothing
 contributed more to the support of the republic than
 a good understanding between those who share the
 government. As he was now old he could hardly
 bring his mind to share the authority with any other
 colleague, but could more easily communicate his de-
 signs to one whose temper he knew." The consul fe-

^a Vol. II, p. 84. note c.

CHAP. conded him, adding these praises which P. Decius
 XXII. justly deserved. Besides “ he represented of what
 “ great advantage it was in military affairs for the
 “ consuls to agree perfectly, what a prodigious dis-
 “ service it was for them to be at variance between
 “ themselves ; and shewed them how the state was
 “ very lately brought into the most imminent dan-
 “ ger, by the difference that happened between him
 “ and his colleague. He exhorted Decius and Fa-
 “ bius to act with one heart and one mind. Add-
 “ ing, that they were men born to be soldiers, great
 “ by the atchievements they had performed, and
 “ unacquainted with verbal contentions and the strife
 “ of colleagues. Men of that turn were fittest to be con-
 “ suls. As for cunning sly wits, fine speakers and men
 “ well versed in the law, such as Appius Claudius, they
 “ should preside in the city and forum, and be ap-
 “ pointed prætors for the administration of justice.”
 Thus one whole day was spent in these matters. On
 the morrow, according to the consul’s order, the co-
 mitia met for the election of consuls and a prætor.
 Q. Fabius and P. Decius were promoted to the former
 office, and Ap. Claudius to the latter, though none of
 them were present at the assembly. L. Volumnius
 by a decree of the senate and people was continued in
 his authority for a year.

CHAP. THIS year there happened many prodigies, and
 XXIII. in order to avert the calamities with which they ima-
 gined themselves to be threatned, the senate order-
 ed supplications to be made for three days. The
 wine and incense for the sacrifices were paid for at the
 public expence. Great numbers of men and women
 went to the temples to offer up their prayers to the
 Gods. This supplication is the more remarkable on
 account of a quarrel that happened between the la-
 dies in the chapel of Patrician Chastity ^a, which stood

^a The Romans, after the example of the Greeks, made every attribute they conceived to belong to the supreme Being, a distinct divinity. They carried the dreams of polytheism so far, as to deify virtues and vices. Thus every thing, which ought to

have been the object of their imitation, or aversion, became, by a strange preposterousness, the object of their homage, and worship. Thus they madly paid divine honors to CHASTITY.

in the ox-market near the round temple of Hercules. The patrician ladies would not admit to the same sacrifice with them Virginia the daughter of Aulus, because, though she was born of a noble family, she had married Volumnius the consul, and not matched herself with a patrician. The debate began at first with a few angry words, but as commonly happens, when womens passions are once enflamed, it grew to a violent heart-burning between them. For Virginia justly alledged, “ that she being a patrician and a modest woman, who had only married one husband to whom she had been brought a pure virgin, had entered into the temple of Patrician Chastity ; and that she was so far from having cause to repent of the choice she had made, that she had good reason to boast of her husband, of the honors he had born, and the achievements he had performed.” To these gallant words she added an action no less noble. Her house stood in a street called the Long-street ; she divided as much of it from the rest as was sufficient for a little chapel, and there she consecrated an altar herself. And after she had assembled the plebeian ladies, and complained to them of the affront done her by the patricians, she said, “ I consecrate this altar to PLEBEIAN CHASTITY. I exhort you to shew as much emulation to excel the patrician women in chastity, as our husbands to excel theirs in bravery. Do you do your endeavor that the Goddesses may be said to be served at this altar, by hands more pure and holy than any where else.” Ceremonies were instituted at this altar much like those established in the first temple built to Chastity ; for no women but those of unblemished virtue, and who had only married one husband ^b, were allowed to

^b Among the Greeks and Romans, it was thought dishonorable for a woman to marry twice. They judged it to be a criminal incontinence, and a kind of tacit breach of the promises made in her first marriage ; and

the Pagan theology gave a great sanction to this opinion. A woman was then supposed accountable to the manes of her first husband, for the fidelity she had sworn to him : This credulity was carried so far, that the dead

CHAP. to offer sacrifice in it. But the institution at last was
 XXIII. prostituted by infamous persons, for not only ladies,
 but women of all ranks were admitted to it, till at last
 there was no more mention of it. This year too, the
 two Ogulnii Cn. and Q. curule ædiles cited some usurers
 to take their trial before the people. Their effects
 were confiscated, and with the money they sold for,
 they bought brazen gates for the capitol; silver
 plate enough for three tables in the temple of Jupiter;
 and erected a statue of this God drawn by four
 horses on the top of it^c, and the images of the two
 infants

dead husband was thought to be solicitous about keeping the love and affections of his wife wholly to himself; and in consequence of this ridiculous persuasion, a second marriage was thought to give him grief and confusion, even in the regions of the dead. Above all, particular care was taken, that the women who presided at the conclusion of marriages, under the name of Pronubæ, should have had but one husband. A happy presage was drawn from them, in favor of the bride; and it was taken for granted, that even death itself would never break those obligations, which were entered into, under the auspices, and with the assistance of a woman, who had continued faithful to her first promises.

^c Plutarch tells us, in his life of Poplicola, that the Romans had, in Poplicola's time, erected on the top of the capitol, a statue of Jupiter drawn in a chariot by four horses; but it was made only of baked earth. Tarquin, says he, was yet upon the throne, when he ordered the temple of Jupiter to be built on the capitol; and before it was built, he had formed a design of adding to the majesty of it, by placing a statue of Jupiter in a chariot drawn by four horses, on the ridge of it. This statue was to be made of baked earth, and he committed it to the care of some Tuscan workmen of Veii; but soon after this, he was expelled Rome for his tyranny: and by a sudden revolution, the regal power was banished, and the government entirely changed. Nevertheless, the workmen, when

they had formed the chariot, put it into the oven to bake it: and then by a strange prodigy, the dried earth instead of shrinking, swelled, and extended itself so much, that the work could not be taken out whole, without beating down the oven; and even so, it was difficult to remove this great mass, without doing it damage. The diviners were consulted about this event, which was thought contrary to the ordinary course of nature; and they thought it a decree of fate. The Gods, said they, promise boundless power, and the utmost prosperity to the people, who shall keep this precious depositum in their possession. Upon this answer, the Veientes did not care to deliver up their work to the Romans. Their pretence for their refusal was, that as Tarquin only had set them to work, it was not just to deprive him of what belonged to him, and give it to those who had dethroned him. Some days after, the Veientes celebrated solemn games, and exercised themselves in chariot-races. The conqueror, who had been crowned as usual, was driving his horses gently out of the list, when all on a sudden, the horses, seized with a sudden fright, held the bits fast between their teeth, and ran full speed towards the city of Rome. It was out of the power of him who drove them, to stop those fiery animals in their course; they did not regard the voice of their master, drew him, whether he would or not, into the midst of the capitol; and there overturned him near a gate called ever after the gate Ratumena, from

infants the founders of the city hanging at the teats of a she-wolf, near the Ruminal fig-tree ^d. They likewise paved a way from the gate Capena ^e to the temple of Mars ^f with square stones. After their example the plebeian ædiles, L. Ælius Pætus and C. Fulvius Curvus, with the fines which they exacted from the farmers of the public pastures, exhibited shews and made a present of some gold cups to the Goddess Ceres ^g.

THEN Q. Fabius and P. Decius entered upon their consulship, the former the fifth, the latter the fourth time. They had been colleagues in the censorship, and in three consulships, and were not more renowned for the noble actions they had performed than for the perfect harmony that had hitherto subsisted between them. And I am of opinion, that it was more owing to party-spirit than to themselves that this good understanding was interrupted, while the patricians did their utmost to procure the pro-

CHAP. XXIV.

Q. Fabius and P. Decius consuls. Y. of R. 524. B. J. C. 228.

from the name of Ratumenas, who was the Veian who drove them. The inhabitants of Veii, adds Plutarch, surprized at this extraordinary accident, restored the Romans the chariot, with which Tarquin intended to have adorned the capitol. Whence it is natural to conclude, that this chariot of baked earth was now changed for another of more valuable materials, and, as we conjecture, of brass. Pliny, B. 28. c. 2. relates the same story, which we have here borrowed from Plutarch.

^d The Ficus Ruminalis, according to Pliny, was long held in great veneration by the Romans. They called it so from the Latin word rumen, a teat, which alludes to the fabulous story of the wolf, which suckled Romulus and Remus, whom the stream had lodged under this wild fig-tree. Hence came the name of Rumina, which the Romans gave to a divinity of their own invention, because they supposed she took care of children at the breast: and under this persuasion, they made libations of milk to her, at certain seasons of the year. As to the exact place where this Ruminal fig-tree was planted;

it is of little importance to know it. Most writers place it in the comitium, some in the forum Romanum, some near the Circus. Plutarch says it stood in the place, which was long afterwards called Germalem, or Germanum, from the term Germani, which was proper for the two brothers. And in order to reconcile these different opinions, it may be observed, that all these places were so near one another, that the ancients might very well confound them with one another, and not intend to be understood in the strictest topographical sense.

^e See Vol. I. p. 49. note a.

^f This temple of Mars is the same the Romans vowed to erect to the honor of this military God, when they were at war with the Gauls. Titus Quintus dedicated it, in the year of Rome 367. It stood without the walls, near the gate Capena, at the beginning of the Appian way, as we learn from Ovid, Fasti, B. 6.

Lux eadem Marti festa est, quem prospicit extra.

Appositum iuxta porta Capena viæ.

^g Vol. I. p. 182.

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vince of Hetruria for Fabius by an extraordinary commission, and the plebeians advised Decius to have the affair determined by lot. It was first debated in the senate; but as Fabius carried his point by having greater interest there, it was afterwards brought before the people, where the two competitors indeed, like true soldiers, relying more on their actions than their words, spoke briefly as follows. Fabius said, “ it was a very unbecoming thing for another man “ to gather the fruit of a tree which he had planted. “ He had opened a way cross the Ciminian wood, “ and cut a passage for the Roman troops through “ forests formerly impenetrable. If they intended to “ commit the conduct of that war to another, why “ did they press him who was so far advanced in “ years to appear again at the helm of affairs? At “ the same time, he modestly reproached himself “ for chusing an adversary and not a colleague, saying, that Decius was sorry they had lived good “ friends during three offices wherein they had been “ colleagues. Lastly, he declared, he desired nothing “ farther, but if they thought him worthy of the province, they would send him thither; he had obeyed “ the decision of the senate, and would submit to the “ determination of the people.” P. Decius complained of the injustice of the senate, and said, “ the patri- “ cians had used their utmost endeavors to hinder, as “ long as they could, the plebeians from being promoted to the highest dignities. After their bravery “ had surmounted all obstacles, and men of all ranks “ had access to the honors of the state, they sought “ not only to render the suffrages of the people of “ no effect, but even the very decision, of fortune “ and to transfer that power into the hands of a “ few. All the former consuls had cast lots for “ their provinces, but that the senate would give “ Fabius one by a mere act of power. If they did “ it to augment the honor of Fabius, that he had “ deserved so well both of the republic and of him, “ that he would chearfully add to it’s lustre, provided

“ vided it could be done without casting disgrace CHAP.
 “ upon himself. For, if there was only one war at- XXIV.
 “ tended with danger and difficulty, and that arbi-
 “ trarily given to one of the consuls, who could doubt,
 “ but the other must be looked upon to be super-
 “ fluous and quite useless? Did Fabius boast of his
 “ exploits in Hetruria? Decius would do the same,
 “ and perhaps extinguish that fire which Fabius had
 “ so often left covered in such a manner, that it sud-
 “ denly broke out again into a flame. In any other dis-
 “ pute about precedence, he would yield all honors
 “ and the rewards attending them to his colleague out
 “ of regard to his age and dignity, but with regard
 “ to braving danger and marching to engage the
 “ enemy, he neither did nor would willingly yield
 “ to any man. If he gained nothing else by the con-
 “ test, he would at least have the satisfaction to think
 “ that the people should dispose of that which was
 “ their own right, and not suffer the senate to make
 “ a compliment of it to another. Then he intreat-
 “ ed Jupiter, the best and most excellent of beings,
 “ and the rest of the immortal Gods, to give him
 “ an equal chance with his colleague, only upon con-
 “ dition they would give him the same courage and
 “ success in conducting the war. And concluded, that
 “ it would be agreeable to natural equity, as well as
 “ a good precedent, and add to the reputation of the
 “ Roman people, that either of the consuls they had
 “ chosen, should be found capable of conducting the
 “ Hetrurian war to advantage.” When Decius had
 ended his discourse, Fabius made no other address to
 the people, but only desired, that before the tribes were
 called upon to give their suffrages, they would first
 hear the letters of Appius Claudius the prætor, that
 had come from Hetruria; upon which he imme-
 diately left the assembly. And the people agreed
 to grant him the province of Hetruria, with as much
 unanimity as the senate had done.

HE was no sooner declared general, but all the CHAP.
 youth flocked to him and enlisted in his troops, so XXV.
 VOL. III. G eager

CHAP.
xxv.

eager they were to serve under so great a commander. When he saw himself surrounded with such a crowd, he said, “ I intend to raise but four thousand foot, and
 “ six hundred horse, and therefore shall only take with
 “ me those who shall be enlisted to-day and to-morrow.
 “ For I am more concerned to bring back all my men
 “ laden with riches, than to lead out a numerous army.” Accordingly setting out with a competent number of troops, but well equipt and animated with the greater hopes and courage, that their general declined encreasing their numbers, he took the rout to the city Aharna^a not far from the enemy, and from thence proceeded on his march to the camp of Appius the prætor. Some miles from it, Fabius met a detachment of Romans, who were going under a strong guard to cut wood. As soon as they saw the lictors marching before the consul, and knew that Fabius was coming, they with great joy and gladness returned thanks to the Gods and Roman people, for sending him to be their general. When they had got round him and were paying their compliments, Fabius asked them, “ whither they were going?” They replied, “ to cut wood.” What is “ not your camp already palisaded?” said the general. And upon their crying out, that they were already surrounded with a double rampart and ditch, but still they were in great fear; “ you have
 “ enough of wood, said Fabius, return and pull
 “ up the palisade.” The detachment hearing this marched back again, and pulling up the stakes, terrified the soldiers that had staid in the camp, and even Appius himself. But they told their companions, that what they did was in obedience to the orders of the consul Fabius. The next day they decamped, and Appius the prætor was sent to Rome. After this, the Romans had no standing camp; for Fabius affirmed that it was detrimental to an army to remain in one place, and that marching and changing their posts made them more healthy and, fit

^a See below book xii,

for action. Accordingly, he made them take as long marches as could be compassed in winter, which was not yet over. Early in the spring, he left the second legion at Clusium^a a town formerly called Camars, and having given the command of the camp to L. Scipio the proprætor, returned himself to Rome to consult with the senate upon the operations of the war. But whether he went of his own motion, finding when upon the spot that the enemy was more formidable, than he had believed them to be upon report, or if he was recalled by an order of the senate, is uncertain, though historians assign both these reasons. Some would have it that he was forced to it by Ap. Claudius the prætor, who since his return had by his speeches both in the senate and to the people, encreased their terror on account of the war in Hetruria, as he had used to do before in his letters. He averred, “ That neither one general nor one
“ army, would be sufficient to make head against
“ four nations. If they should act jointly, he was
“ in danger of being crushed by them, and if they
“ acted separately it would be impossible for him to
“ be in all places at once. He had left only two
“ legions there, and that less than five thousand
“ foot and horse had gone with Fabius to join them.
“ He was of opinion that P. Decius the consul should
“ be sent with all possible expedition into Hetruria to
“ act in concert with his colleague. The province of
“ Samnium should be given to L. Volumnius. Or if
“ the consul chose rather to go thither, that Volumnius should be ordered into Hetruria to join Fabius,
“ with an army as great as if he was consul.” When a great number of the senators seemed to be influenced by his speech, it is said P. Decius proposed, that the whole of this affair should be put off, till Q. Fabius should come to Rome himself, if he could be spared from the army without prejudice to the republic, or send one of his lieutenant generals


to inform the senate of the state of the war in Hetruria, what forces would be wanted, and how many generals would be necessary to command them.


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XXVI.

WHEN Fabius returned to Rome, in his speech, first before the senate, and afterwards before the people, he observed a medium, so as neither to exaggerate nor diminish the accounts they had of the state of the war, and in accepting a colleague, in the command of the army, seemed to have greater regard to the apprehensions of his fellow-citizens, than to his own interest or that of the state. But if they were resolved to associate him with another, in the conduct of the war, he said, “ he could never forget P. Decius the consul, of whose abilities he had such ample proof, in the many offices they had born together. There was no man in the state, with whom he would rather be joined in commission; for he should not think his forces too few while Decius was in the army, nor ever apprehend, that his enemies could be too many. But if his colleague did not approve of this, in that case he desired they would give him L. Volumnius for his assistant.” The senate, people, and his colleague, referred the affair entirely to Fabius’s own determination. And P. Decius, having declared his readiness to march, either into Hetruria or Samnium, the people were so much transported with joy and gladness, that they already considered themselves as secure of the victory; and one would have thought, they were not sending the consuls upon an expedition, but decreeing them the honor of a triumph. I find in some historians, that Fabius and Decius, as soon as they entered upon their consulship, marched both into Hetruria without any mention of their sharing their provinces by lot, or of those disputes between them which I have taken notice of. There are some writers, who are not satisfied with a relation of these misunderstandings, but have added, the accusations which Appius the prætor laid before the people against Fabius in his absence, and his opposition to that

that consul even to his face. They also mention another dispute between these two colleagues, wherein Decius insisted that every one should take care of his own province. But from the time, that the consuls went in conjunction to command the army, facts are represented with greater certainty. Before they reached Hetruria, the Gauls called the Senones^a, came in vast numbers to Clusium, to attack the Roman legion encamped there. Scipio who commanded them, intending to make up what he wanted in numbers by posting his men to advantage, led them up to an eminence lying betwixt the city and the camp. But as frequently happens in cases of surprize, not having sufficiently reconnoitred the ground, he was not aware that the enemy by another rout had already taken possession of it. Thus the legion was not only attacked in the rear, but as the enemy advanced from all quarters, quite surrounded and cut to pieces. Some assert, it was entirely cut off, so that not so much as one remained, to bring the accounts of the disaster. And that the consuls, who at that time were not far from Clusium knew nothing of it, till they came in sight of the Gallic cavalry, who had the heads of the slain either hung at their horses necks or fixed on the points of their lances, and were expressing their joy, by singing songs according to the custom of their country. Some say this was done by the Umbrians, and not the Gauls, that the loss sustained was not so considerable, and when the foragers under the command of the lieutenant general L. Manlius Torquatus were surrounded by the enemy, Scipio the proprætor came from the camp to his relief, and having renewed the battle, routed the Umbrians, who had had the advantage at the first, and rescued the booty and prisoners out of their hands. But it is more probable that the Romans suffered this loss rather from the Gauls than the Umbrians; because all this year the city was un-

^a Vol. II. p. 110. note c.

CHAP. XXVI.  der the greatest apprehensions from the insurrection of the former, as has been the case on many other occasions. And therefore notwithstanding the two consuls were gone to war with four legions and a great body of Roman cavalry, a thousand select Campanian horse, and a greater number of allies and Latines than Romans, yet two other armies were posted on the frontiers of Etruria not far from the city, the one in the Faliscan^b territory and the other on the Vatican hill^c, and Cn. Fulvius and L. Posthumius Megellus both proprætors, were ordered to keep each a standing camp in these places.

CHAP. XXVII.  BUT the consuls having passed the Apennine^d mountain, came up with the enemy in the territory of Sentinum^e, and encamped about four miles distance from them. Upon this the enemy had frequent consultations, and at last resolved not to encamp all together, nor venture their whole strength at one battle. In consequence of this regulation, the Samnites and Gauls, the Etrurians and Umbrians were associated together, and when the day of battle

^b Vol. II. p. 247. note a.

^c A hill not far from the Tyber, and joining to Janiculum. It produced ordinary wine in great plenty. Martial. i, 19. Juvenal. Sat. 6. Horat. Carm. i. Ode 20.

^d The origin of the word Apennine is wholly uncertain, though many grammarians have labored hard to ascertain it. Isidorus, for instance, book xiv. chap. 8. of origins, says, *Apennines*, "is as it were *Alpes* "*Peninæ*, where Hannibal passed the Alps, at his coming into Italy. Hence that saying of Virgil, *Alpes immittet apertas*, where he observes, that the Carthaginians after the war in Spain, *rupit Alpes aceto*, and hence these places got the name, Apennines." Servius makes the same remark on that passage of Virgil. Paul Diaconus, in his second book and eighteenth chapter of the affairs of Lombardy, says, "The Apennine Alps, running through the middle of Italy, divide Tuscany from that part of

"Lombardy on this side the Po, which is called *Æmia*, and extends from Rimini to Placentia; and Umbria from Romagna, called *Flaminia*." "Who, says Cluver, can be so ignorant and so little versed in Roman affairs as not to know the site of the Pennine Alps by which Hannibal passed into Italy, viz. *mont St. Bernard*?" See a more particular description of them, when we come to book xxxvi. of our author. And in Martianus Capella book vi. Pliny, book iii. chap. v. Ptolemy in his description of Italy, Lucan, book ii. chap. x. Strabo book v. Pomponius, book ii. chap. iv.

^e The city of Sentinum stood in Umbria, on the frontiers of Picenum, in a valley of the Apennines, at a little distance from the springs of the *Æfis*, or *Esino Fiume*. It is now called *Sentida*. Ferrarius guesses, that the city of *Sasso Ferrato* was built out of the ruins of old Sentinum.

was fixed, the Samnites and Gauls were ordered to take the field, and the Hetrurians and Umbrians to attack the Roman camp in the time of the engagement. But these measures were disconcerted by three Clusine deserters who came over to Fabius in the night, and having discovered the designs of the enemy, were dismissed with large presents, in order to engage them as soon as any new resolutions should be taken by the enemy, to return to him with certain intelligence. The consuls upon this wrote to Fulvius and Posthumius, to march their armies out of the Faliscan and Vatican territories to Clusium, and employ all their forces in laying waste the enemy's country. The accounts of these devastations, soon drew the Hetrurians out of the territory of Sentinum to defend their own dominions. Upon their departure, the Roman consuls did all in their power to bring the enemies to a battle. With this view, they skirmished with them two days without intermission, but in all that time, nothing worth mentioning was achieved. Only a few were slain on both sides, which rather served to animate them to a general battle, than to decide the dispute. On the third day, they brought their whole strength into the field, and when the armies were standing in the order of battle, a hind pursued by a wolf from the mountains fled over the fields and run in between them. Upon which the two wild beasts parted, and the hind run towards the Gauls who killed her, while the wolf turned his course to the Romans who opened their ranks to let him pass. Then one of the Roman vanguard said, "Flight and slaughter will be the fate of that side, where you see the beast sacred to Diana lie dead, but the victorious wolf sacred to Mars having escaped on our side safe and untouched, hath put us in mind that we draw our original from Mars, and bids us remember our great founder." The Gauls were posted on the right wing, and the Samnites on the left. Against the latter Fabius advanced with the first and third legions,

gions, on the right of the Roman army, and Decius on the left, opposite to the former, at the head of the fifth and sixth: For the second and fourth served in Samnium, under the command of L. Volumnius proconsul. At the first encounter they were so equally matched, that had the Hetrurians and Umbrians either been present at the battle, or attacked the Roman camp, they must have succeeded in either design, and the Romans have been worsted.

CHAP.

XXVIII.

BUT though the battle was yet equal, and fortune had not determined on which side she would bestow the victory, yet they fought on the right and left in a quite different manner. The Romans under Fabius rather stood on their own defence, than assaulted the enemy; so that the battle was drawn out till the day was far advanced. For this general, knowing perfectly that the Samnites and Gauls were brisk in the first attack, thought it sufficient at first to stand to his own defence. Accordingly, the courage of the Samnites abated by degrees, upon lengthening out the action, and the bodies of the Gauls, quite unable to endure fatigue and the heat of the climate, melted away; their first attack exceeding the bravery of men, and their last being more faint than that of women. For this reason Fabius preserved the vigor of his soldiers as entire as he could to the last push, when the Romans used to get the advantage of the enemy. Decius, by reason of his age and the vivacity of his temper, being more ardent for victory, exerted all his force at the first charge, and as the foot seemed to act slowly, led on his cavalry, and putting himself at the head of a squadron of young men, remarkable for their bravery, encouraged the officers to stand by him and attack the enemy briskly. He told them, they would gain double glory, if the victory should be begun by the cavalry and in the left wing. Twice they repulsed the Gallic horse. But after they had advanced farther, and were engaged warmly among their squadrons, they were surprized with a new way of fighting. The Gauls standing
armed

armed on chariots and carts, drove full against them, and with the prodigious rattling of their horses and wheels affrighted the Roman cavalry, unaccustomed to such noise. Thus the conquerors being seized as it were with a distracting fright were dispersed, and flying precipitately both men and horse were overthrown. The Roman legions were likewise put in confusion, and many of their vanguard being born down by the impetuosity of their chariots and horse, that drove through their battalions, were trod to death. And no sooner were they disordered, but the infantry of the Gauls fell upon them, without giving them time to breath or to recover from their fright. Upon this, Decius with a loud voice asked them, "whither they fled? or what hopes they had in flying?" He also endeavored to stop the fugitives, and recal those that were routed. But finding them seized with so great a consternation, that he could by no means stop them, he called on his father P. Decius by name and said, "Why do I delay to undergo the fate of my family? It is the privilege of our house to expiate and avert public dangers. I will soon offer myself, and the legions of the enemy, to be sacrificed to Tellus and the Dii Manes^a?"

This said, he ordered M. Livius the priest, whom he had commanded to attend him in the battle, to pronounce the form of words by which he might devote himself and the enemy's legions for the army of the Roman people. After he had done this, in the same form of prayer, and in the same habit that his father P. Decius had on, when he ordered himself to be devoted to death at the river Veferis^b in the Latin war, and besides these solemn prayers, added, "That he drove before him fear, flight, murder, slaughter and the anger both of the celestial and infernal Gods. His death would entail a curse upon the ensigus, darts and arms of the enemy, and make the place where he should lose his life fatal to them." After pronouncing these execrations upon

^a See Vol. II. p. 315.

^b Ibid.

self and the Gauls, he rode full speed into the thickest of them, and exposing himself to their darts, was slain on the spot.

CHAP. FROM this time the battle could scarce seem to
 xxix. be fought by human power. The Romans, after the loss of their general, which used at other times to intimidate them, stopped their flight and endeavored to renew the battle afresh. The Gauls, and particularly a ring of them that stood round the consul's body, threw their darts about them without doing any execution, as if they had been bereaved of their senses. Some of them seemed benumbed, and neither thought of fighting nor flying. But on the other hand Livius the priest, to whom Decius had resigned the Lictors, and declared proprætor, cried out, "That the Romans had conquered, and by the death of Decius, were delivered from all danger. The Gauls and Samnites were really the property of mother Tellus and the Dii Manes. Decius called and dragged to the infernal regions the enemy's army which he had devoted with himself, and that the furies and fear had already seized them." After this, while they were renewing the battle, L. Cornelius Scipio and C. Marcius came to their assistance, with a reinforcement from the rear, which Q. Fabius the consul had sent to the relief of his colleague. There they got notice of the death of P. Decius, which was a great motive to them to leave nothing unattempted for the preservation of the republic. Wherefore as the Gauls stood close to one another, and were covered with their bucklers, which they had placed before them, thinking it would be difficult to engage with them hand to hand, they picked up, by the order of the lieutenant generals, all the darts which lay scattered on the ground, between the two armies, and threw them at the testudo which the enemies had formed. And as the greater part of these javelins stuck in the shields of the Gauls, and the longer ones pierced their bodies, this compacted body was broken, and many of those who had received no wounds, were seized with such
 astonish-

astonishment, that they fell together with the slain. These changes the fortune of the Romans made in the left wing. In the right Fabius, as we mentioned above, had at first drawn out the day by delays. But when neither the shouts of the enemy, nor their attacks and darts seemed to retain their former force, he ordered the commanders of the Roman cavalry to wheel about their squadrons, and on the first signal to flank the Samnite infantry with the utmost vigor, and his own legionary forces to advance slowly and annoy the enemy. But when he saw that the Samnites were not able to stand before them, and were really tired out, he put all his troops in motion which he had hitherto reserved inactive, led on his legions, and gave his horse the signal to fall upon the enemy. The Samnites could not withstand this violent shock, so they left their allies engaged, passed by the army of the Gauls who stood close together, and formed the military tortoise, and retired in precipitation to their camp. Then Fabius, upon receiving an account of his colleague's death, detached the Campanian squadron, amounting to about five hundred horse, and ordered them to march round and fall on the Gauls in the rear. He commanded the principes of the third legion to follow them, and to penetrate into their battalions, and cut them down wherever they should see them disordered by the charge of the cavalry. As soon as he had made a vow to build a temple to Jupiter the Victorious, and to consecrate to him the spoils of the enemy, he marched directly to the Samnite camp, whither their whole army fled in disorder. And as the gates were not wide enough to receive so great a multitude, those that were shut out tried to renew the battle at the foot of the rampart. There Gellius Egnatius, the Samnite general, fell. The Samnites were driven into their entrenchments; their camp was taken with small resistance; the Gauls being attacked in the rear were surrounded and cut to pieces. There were slain of the enemy that day twenty five thousand men, and eight thousand taken prisoners.

CHAP.
XXIX.

prisoners. Neither was the victory gained without loss on the Roman side, for there fell of P. Decius's army seven thousand men, and of his colleague's twelve hundred. Fabius, after sending proper persons to search for Decius's body, gathered the spoils of the enemy into an heap, and burnt them in honor of Jupiter the Victorious. As the consul's body was covered with an heap of Gauls, they could not find it that day, but on the morrow it was found and brought to the camp, with the lamentations of the whole army. Then Fabius, laying aside all concern about every thing else, solemnized the funeral obsequies of his colleague with all imaginable honor, and bestowed upon him the praises he justly deserved.

CHAP.
XXX.

ABOUT the same time, Cn. Fulvius the prætor had all the success in Hetruria that he could desire, and besides the great damage he did the enemy by ravaging their lands, he gained a signal victory over them, for he slew of the Perusinians and Clusinians upwards of three thousand men, and took from them twenty colors. As the Samnites were flying through the country of the Peligni, that people surrounded them, and of five thousand killed one. The fame of that day on which the battle of Sentinum was fought, is great, though we adhere strictly to the truth: but some historians in their accounts have exceeded all belief; for they have wrote that the enemy's army, when joined by the Umbrians and Hetrurians, who they say were present in the battle, amounted to four hundred thirty three thousand foot, six thousand horse and one thousand chariots. And in order to enhance the number of the Roman forces, they add that L. Volumnius the prætor acted as general in conjunction with the consuls, and that his legions were united to theirs. However, most annalists ascribe this victory entirely to the consuls. In the mean time Volumnius acted in Samnium; he drove the Samnite army to mount Tifernum, and not being in the least discouraged by the disadvantage of the ground, defeated and put it to flight. Q. Fabius having the army which Decius

cus had commanded in Hetruria, brought back his own legions to the city and triumphed over the Gauls, Hetrurians and Samnites. His soldiers followed him in the profection, and in their rude military songs were no less liberal in their encomiums on the glorious death of P. Decius, than on the victory of Q. Fabius. This occasion likewise brought to their remembrance the father of Decius, whose conduct was now imitated by the son, with equal advantage to the state and honor to his family. To each private centinel was given eighty two asses^a of brass out of the spoils of the enemy, besides a Sagum^b and a Tunic^c, which were considerable rewards for a soldier in those days.

CHAP.
xxx.

BUT all these victories did not produce a peace, either in Hetruria or Samnium. For as soon as Fabius had withdrawn his army from Hetruria, that people took up arms at the instigation of the Perusini-ans. The Samnites dividing their forces into two parties, one of them fell down upon the lands of Vescia^a and Formiæ^b, and the other upon the territory of Æurnia^c near to the river Vulturnus^d. Appius Claudius the prætor marched against them, with the army which had been commanded by Decius Fabius slew four thousand five hundred of the Perusinians in

CHAP.
xxxI.

^a Five shillings and three pence half-penny.

^b The sagum of the Romans was a military habit, open from top to bottom, and usually fastened on the right shoulder with a buckle, or clasp. It was not different in shape from the chlamys of the Greeks, and the tunic of the generals. The only difference between them was, that the tunic was made of a richer stuff, was generally of a purple color, and both longer and fuller than the sagum.

^c See preceding note.

^d Vescia stood in the country of the Aurunci, near the Liris, or Garigliano, on this side mount Massicus, now Monte Dragone. It gave it's own name to a little district, which the Latin authors call Ager Vescinus, and which reached from

Minturnæ to Mola. Some, by mistake, confound the territory of Vescia with the country of the Vestini.

^b Formiæ was founded, according to Strabo, by a colony of Lacedæmonians, who at first gave it the name of *ὀπμιαί*, from it's convenient port: and Pliny and Festus approve of this etymology. This city was in the country of the Aurunci, between Fundi, and Minturnæ. The town of Mola was built upon the ruins of it, after it had been sacked by the Saracens. This ancient city gave it's name to the hills in it's neighborhood, and to the country-house which Cicero had near it, at a little distance from Cajeta.

^c See below p. 299. note c.

^d See Vol. II.

CHAP.

XXXI.

Hetruria that had revolted afresh, and took seventeen hundred and forty prisoners, who were ransomed, at three hundred and ten ^e asses of brass per head. All the rest of the spoil was granted to the soldiers. As the Samnite legions were pursued both by Ap. Claudius the prætor, and L. Volumnius the proconsul, they at last assembled in the country of the Stellates^f, where they posted themselves, and here the two Roman commanders joined their camps. Both nations engaged with the utmost animosity, the one being fired with resentment against a people that had so often rebelled, and the other looking upon this battle as their last stake. There were slain of the Samnites sixteen thousand men, and two thousand seven hundred taken prisoners, which was equal to the number the Romans lost. Though this year was remarkable for the many advantages the republic gained in war, yet the citizens were distressed with the plague, and uneasy on account of prodigies. It was reported that it had rained earth in several places, and that many of the soldiers in Appius's camp had been killed with lightning. The Sybilline books were consulted about these prognosticks. This year Q. Fabius Gurges, the consul's son, fined some ladies who had been convicted of adultery before the people, and with the money caused to build that temple to Venus which stood nigh the Circus. There remain yet to be related certain wars with the Samnites, of which we have given a continued history in four books for the space of forty six years, commencing at the consulship of M. Valerius and A. Cornelius, who were the first that carried the Roman arms into Samnium. And that I may not be obliged to relate the repeated defeats, and the severe toils that both nations suffered in so many years, and which after all were unable to daunt their obstinate hearts, I must observe that this last

^e About one pound sterling.

^f This plain was in Campania, between the Volturnus and the Sarno,

and was as it were the bottom of a basin surrounded with mountains and hills.

year the Samnites, both by themselves and when joined by foreign auxiliaries, were defeated in the country of Sentinum, among the Pelignians, at Tifernum and in the country of the Stellates by four armies and four Roman generals: they lost the most renowned commander of their nation, saw their allies the Hetrurians, Umbrians and Gauls in the same situation with themselves, were unable to support their state either by their own power or foreign assistance, and yet after all continued the war, so far were they from being weary of defending their liberty though they had hitherto been unsuccessful, choosing rather to be vanquished than not attempt to conquer. What man is there that would not be tired, either with writing or reading the history of these tedious wars, which they were not weary with carrying on?

CHAP.
XXXI.

L. POSTHUMIUS MEGELLUS and M. Atilius Regulus succeeded Q. Fabius and P. Decius in the consulate. The province of Samnium was jointly granted to them both, because it was reported that the enemy had raised three armies, one to return to Hetruria, another to lay waste Campania, and a third to defend their own frontiers. Posthumius was detained by sickness at Rome. Atilius set out immediately, because the fathers had a mind that he should surprize the enemy, before they got out of Samnium. The Romans therefore met the Samnites at their frontiers, and were thereby not only prevented themselves from laying waste the Samnite territory, but even from entering it, and hindered the enemy from penetrating into the country subject to the republic, or belonging to her allies. As soon as the two armies were encamped opposite to one another, the Samnites, who had been so often vanquished, so great is the rashness of men acted by despair, had the boldness to attack the Roman camp, which the Romans, after all the victories they had gained, would have scarce ventured to attempt. And though this bold undertaking did not succeed, yet it was not without effect. There happened to be a fog,

CHAP.
XXXII.L. Posthumius Megellus and M. Atilius Regulus consuls.
Y. of R. 525.
B. J. C. 227.

CHAP. fog, which continued a good part of the day so thick
 XXXII. that every thing was obscured by it, so that men not
 only could have no prospect beyond the ramparts, but
 even those that talked together could not distinguish
 each other. The Samnites taking the advantage of
 this favorable opportunity, the better to cover their
 designs, before day-break, amidst the thick darkness,
 came up to the Roman advanced guard that watched
 very carelessly at the gate; who being surprized with
 the unexpected arrival of the enemy, had nei-
 ther courage nor strength sufficient to make resistance.
 The Samnites begun the attack on the rear of the
 camp, and endeavored to enter it by the Decuman
 port. Accordingly they took the quæstor's quarters,
 and slew L. Opimus Pansa the quæstor in it.

CHAP. THEN the alarm was given, and the consul being
 XXXIII. awakened by the noise, ordered the Lucanian and
 Sueffanian auxiliary cohorts, which happened to be
 next to him, to defend his quarters, and led himself
 some companies of his legions through the great
 street of the camp to oppose the enemy. They drew
 up in order of battle, before they had their arms
 ready, and distinguished the enemy more by their
 shouts than the sight of their eyes, but could not
 discover the greatness of their numbers. Being thus
 at a loss how matters stood they retired at first,
 and allowed the enemy to penetrate to the center
 of the camp. Then the consul cried out and asked them,
 “ whether they had a mind to be driven out of their
 “ entrenchments, and then to besiege their own
 “ camp?” At first they set up a shout, and drawing
 together in a body acted on the defensive; after-
 wards they attacked the Samnites, pressed hard up-
 on them, and having obliged them to give way, re-
 pulsed them in as much confusion and fear, as they had
 been in themselves at the beginning of the battle. They
 forced them back through the Decuman gate, and
 drove them quite out of the entrenchments. The
 thickness of the fog made them fearful of an am-
 buscade, so that they durst not venture to proceed
 nor

nor pursue them farther, and being content with having cleared their camp, retreated to their entrenchments, having slain three hundred of the enemy. There fell of the Romans, including the advanced-guard, the centinels that kept watch, and those who were surprized about the quæstor's quarters, two hundred and thirty. This bold attempt meeting with such good success made the Samnites take heart, so that they not only hindered the Roman general from extending his camp, but even from foraging in their territory, and obliged him to fetch his provisions from the country of Sora, that lay behind him, and belonged to the republic. When the news of these occurrences reached Rome, the danger to which the consul was exposed was so much magnified, that L. Posthumius the consul, who was not yet perfectly recovered, thought himself obliged to set out for Samnium; having, before he left the city, ordered his troops to rendezvous at Sora. He likewise dedicated a temple to Victory, which he had caused to be built when he was curule ædile, with the fines he had levied on several occasions. After this he set out for the army, and from Sora marched into Samnium to join his colleague. But the Samnites, diffident of their own strength, which they reckoned insufficient to make head against two armies, retired, and the consuls separated and marched different ways to lay waste their country and besiege their towns.

POSTHUMIUS attacked Milonia, and attempted at first to carry it by storm, but being disappointed he raised galleries and other works against it, and having made his approaches to the walls took it. Yet after he had got possession of it, there was a smart engagement in all parts of the town, which lasted from the fourth^a to the eighth hour of the day, but at last the Romans made themselves masters of it. There were slain of the Samnites three thousand two hundred, and four thousand two hundred made prisoners, besides other booty which they lost. The consul led

^a From ten o'clock forenoon to two o'clock afternoon.

CHAP.
xxxiv.

his legions from this place to Ferentinum, the inhabitants of which had silently marched bag and baggage out of it in the night, through a gate on the other side of the city. Wherefore as soon as the consul arrived, expecting that he should meet with the same resistance which he had found at Milonia, he got ready every thing necessary for the siege, and approached the walls in order of battle. But when he heard no noise in the town, and saw neither men nor arms on the towers and walls, though his soldiers were eager to mount them, he restrained their impetuosity, for fear they should inconsiderately fall into some ambuscade. He chose out two troops of the Latine allies, and ordered them to ride round the walls and observe every thing. They took notice that two of the city gates, nigh to one another, on the same side, were open, and saw in these roads the footsteps of the enemy, who had fled out of the city in the night. Then they rode gently up to the gates, and perceiving that they might march straight forward through the city without any danger, they brought the consul word that they were certain the place was abandoned by the enemy, and inferred this from the fresh tracks of their flight and the bundles of things, which they had left every where in the road through their hurry to escape in the night. Upon hearing this, the consul led his army round to that quarter of the town where the horse had been, and causing his ensigns to halt a little distance from the gate, ordered five horsemen to enter the town, and after they had gone a good way into it, if they found there was no danger, three of them were to continue there, and the other two to bring him an account of their discoveries. When they returned and told him they had advanced so far, that they could see round them into all parts of the town, and found all silent, and the place a perfect desert, the consul instantly led some light armed cohorts into it, and commanded the rest of his troops in the mean time to fortify a camp in the neighborhood.

The

The soldiers entering it broke open the doors of the houses, in which they found a few persons either old or sick, and some effects which it was difficult to remove. These they rifled, and by examining the prisoners, learned that some of the neighboring people had agreed to abandon their cities, that their townsmen had set out at the first watch, and they believed they would find the other cities as desolate as theirs. The consul believed what these men said, and made himself master of the towns which the inhabitants had forsaken.

THE other consul, M. Atilius, had a far more difficult war to manage. When he was leading his legions to Luceria, which he heard was besieged by the Samnites, the enemy met him on the frontiers of the Lucerini. Rage made the strength of both sides equal. The battle was very bloody, and the victory doubtful, but in the end the Romans suffered most, both because they were not used to be conquered, and after their retreat were more sensible of the wounds they had received, and the loss they had sustained, than they had been in the action. So that if they had been seized with the same terror in the engagement, which seized them in their camp, they had certainly suffered a signal overthrow. As it was, they passed the night in great uneasiness, believing the Samnites would either immediately attack their entrenchments, or that they should be obliged to engage again with the conquerors as soon as it should be day. The enemy had not lost so many men, but they had no more courage than the Romans. Accordingly, it was no sooner light, but they were bent upon marching home without fighting. But they had only one way left, and that lay near to the enemy; so that when they took that rout, they looked as if they had been marching directly to storm the Roman camp. The consul commanded his men to take their arms, and follow him out without the entrenchments, and gave proper orders to his lieutenant generals and tribunes, and to the præfects of the allies, how they should behave.

CHAP.
XXXV.

CHAP. behave. They all declared, “ That they were ready
 XXXV. “ to do whatever they were required, but the hearts
 “ of the foldiers were faint and heavy; they faid
 “ they had been kept awake all night, amidft the
 “ wounds and groans of the dying men. If the
 “ enemy had come to the camp before day, the
 “ Romans would have deferted their colors, they
 “ were under fo great a confternation, that nothing
 “ but fhame kept them now from running away;
 “ otherwife they were like men entirely vanquifhed.”
 When the conful heard this, he thought proper to
 go round the tents and talk to his men himfelf, chid-
 ing thofe as he went along that were flow in taking
 their arms, and asking them; “ Why they loitered
 “ and demurred? He faid, the enemy would come
 “ into their camp, if they did not march out to
 “ meet them, and they would be obliged to fight
 “ before their tent doors, if they would not venture
 “ without their ramparts. If they were armed and
 “ did engage in a pitched battle, they had a chance
 “ for the victory; but that the man who waited for
 “ the enemy naked and unarmed, muft either fuffer
 “ death or flavery.” They made answer to thefe
 reproaches and chidings, by telling him frankly,
 “ They were quite fpent in the battle yefterday;
 “ that they had neither ftrength nor blood remain-
 “ ing, and the enemy’s army appeared more nu-
 “ merous than it had been the day before.” By
 this time the Samnite troops were approaching, and
 as the diftance was fmall the Roman foldiers faw every
 thing diftinctly, and affirmed that the enemy were
 bringing ftakes with them in order to enclofe their
 camp. Then the conful in great emotion cried out,
 “ That it was a fhame for them to fuffer fo great an
 “ affront and difgrace, from fuch a daftardly ene-
 “ my. Shall we even, faid he, be blocked up in
 “ our camp to perifh fhamefully with hunger rather
 “ than to die honorably with the fword, if death is
 “ inevitable? The Gods might crown all their de-
 “ figns with fuccefs, and every man might do what
 “ he

“ he thought best; but that M. Atilius the consul
 “ would march alone against them, if not a man
 “ should follow him, and choose rather to fall amidst
 “ the enemy’s standards, than see the Roman camp
 “ invested by them.” The lieutenant generals, the
 tribunes, all the troops of horse, and the centurions
 of the foremost ranks, approved of the consul’s speech.
 And then indeed the common soldiers, wrought upon
 through mere shame, took to their arms slowly and
 marched out of the camp with reluctance. They
 advanced very dejected and almost like persons con-
 quered, in a long line, and that not closed, against the
 enemy, who had neither more hopes nor better
 courage than themselves. Accordingly as soon as
 the Samnites saw the foremost of the Roman stan-
 dards, a general murmur run from the front to the
 rear of their army. “ That the Romans, as they
 “ dreaded they would, were come to obstruct their
 “ march. They had no way left to make their e-
 “ scape; and therefore must either die on the spot,
 “ or cut down their enemies and make them-
 “ selves a passage over their bodies.”

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UPON this, they threw down their baggage in
 the center, took to their arms, and every man posted
 himself in his rank. The distance between the two
 armies was now but small, and each stood waiting
 till the other should give the first onset or set up the
 first shout. Neither side had any inclination to fight,
 and they would have retired without blows or
 coming to action, if they had not been afraid that
 the side that retired first, would be assaulted by that
 which kept it’s ground. So at length, like persons
 unwilling and averse to fight, they begun to charge
 one another faintly with unequal and broken shouts,
 and none of them so much as stirred his foot. The
 Roman consul observing this, in order to rouse his
 men, made some squadrons of horse advance out of
 their ranks. Most of them were dismounted and
 the rest put into disorder, upon which the Samnites
 ran to attack those that were fallen from their horses,

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and the Romans halted to defend them. Then indeed the action became a little hotter, but the Samnites had made more haste and advanced in greater numbers, and the Roman squadrons being broken at the same time, the infantry that came to their relief were trodden underfoot by the horses that were frightened. This detachment having thus begun to fly, made the whole Roman army turn their backs upon the enemy. And now the Samnites cut down the rear of the Romans who fled before them, when the consul galloping up to the gate of the camp, and posting a body of horse at it, commanded them to treat as enemies every man that should come up to the rampart, whether they were Romans or Samnites. He planted himself in the way of the fugitives that came in crowds to the camp, and said, “Whither are you running, fellow soldiers? You will find both men and arms here to oppose you. As long as your consul is alive, you shall none of you enter your camp, unless you are victorious. Take your choice therefore, either to engage the Samnites or your fellow citizens.” This said, the horse instantly surrounded the infantry, and presenting the points of their lances, commanded them to return to the fight. Thus courage not only proved of service to the consul, but fortune likewise favored his designs, for the Samnites did not pursue the fugitives briskly, so that the Romans had room enough for their ensigns to face about, and to turn their battalions from the camp against the enemy. Then they encouraged one another to renew the battle; the centurions snatched the colors out of the hands of those that bore them, telling the men, that the enemy who came against them were few in number, and their ranks greatly disordered. In the mean time, the consul lifting up his hands to heaven with a loud voice, so that the troops could hear him, vowed a temple to Jupiter Stator, if the Roman soldiers should stop their flight, renew the fight and defeat the Samnite legions. Hereupon, officers, soldiers

diers and the whole body of horse and foot, concurred unanimously and did their utmost to reinstate the battle. The Gods seemed likewise to have declared for the Romans, so easily was the fortune of the day changed, the enemy repulsed from the camp and driven to the place where the action begun. There indeed the heaps of their baggage, which they had placed in the middle of the ground where they had posted themselves, entangled and stopt them, and to prevent it's being rifled they surrounded it with a ring. The Roman infantry pressed them in front, and their cavalry fell upon their rear, so that they were enclosed in the middle and all either slain or taken. The number of prisoners amounted to seven thousand three hundred, who were all stript naked and made to pass under the yoke. It is said, that four thousand eight hundred men were killed upon the spot. Neither had the Romans any cause to boast of their victory, for when the consul took an account of those that had been slain both the days, he found that he had lost seven thousand three hundred. During these transactions in Apulia, another army of the Samnites attempted to surprize Interamna, a Roman colony situated upon the Latine highway, but being disappointed in that design they ravaged the country, and as they were carrying their plunder, which consisted of men and cattle, and some of the colony they had taken, they fell in with the victorious consul who was returning from Luceria, and not only lost their booty, but as they marched in disorder, in one line, and were encumbered with the spoil, were themselves cut in pieces. The consul, by proclamation, ordered the owners of the goods to repair to Interamna to claim and receive what belonged to them, and having left his army there returned to Rome to preside at the elections. When he solicited for a triumph he was denied the honor, because he had lost so many thousand men, and made the prisoners pass under the yoke, without imposing on them any other terms.

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THE other consul Posthumius, finding no employment for his arms in Samnium, marched his troops into Hetruria, where he first laid waste the lands of the Volsinienfes. Afterwards when they came out to defend them against him, he fought them not far from their walls. The Hetrurians had two thousand and two hundred slain, and the rest took refuge in their city, which was very near them. Then he entered the territories of Rufella; which he not only ravaged, but took the town itself. Here he made more than two thousand prisoners, and slew near two thousand more round the walls. But the peace concluded with the Hetrurians that year, derived greater glory and advantage to him than the war. For three of it's most powerful cities, Volsinii, Perugia and Arretium sued for peace; and having agreed with the consul to furnish his troops with clothes and provisions, they had liberty to send agents to Rome, and obtained a truce for forty years, each city paying down at the time a fine of five hundred thousand asses of brass^a. When the consul, more in compliance with custom than from any hope of obtaining it, claimed a triumph for these exploits, some of the senators objected, "that he had set out from the city later than he ought to have done," and others, "that he had left Samnium and entered Hetruria without the senate's orders." Some were induced to make these objections because they were his enemies, others because they were friends to the other consul, to whom it would be a satisfaction to have his colleague refused that honor as well as himself. But Posthumius addressed them thus, "Conscript fathers, I shall not carry my deference for your majesty and authority to such a length as to forget that I am consul; and will triumph by virtue of the same authority by which I carried on and happily concluded the war, subdued the Samnites and Hetrurians and obtained victory and peace." Upon this he left the senate. Then

^a Twelve hundred and fifty pound.

arose a warm contest among the plebeian tribunes, some of them threatening to oppose his triumphing in an unprecedented manner, while others supported his claim in opposition to their colleagues. In the end the affair was brought before an assembly of the people. The consul being summoned to it, after instancing the example of the consuls L. Valerius and M. Horatius^b, and the late one of his own father C. Marcius Rutilus the present censor; who triumphed not by the authority of the senate,^c but an ordinance of the people, he added, “that he in like manner
 “would have moved the people to have granted
 “him that honor, had he not been sensible some of
 “their tribunes, who were slaves to the nobility,
 “would have opposed his bill. As for himself he
 “always did and ever would reckon the ordinances
 “and pleasure of the people, when unanimous, preferable to all other authority.” The next day, by the interest of three tribunes, contrary to the opposition of their seven colleagues and unanimous resolution of the fathers, he celebrated his triumph, which the people solemnized with great rejoicings. But let it be remarked that the transactions of this year are variously related. For, the historian Claudius says, that Posthumius, after taking several cities in Samnium, was routed and put to flight in Apulia, himself wounded and forced to take refuge in Luceria^d with a few of his troops that escaped. That Atilius performed the exploits in Hetruria, and had the honor of a triumph. On the other hand, Fabius writes, that both the consuls acted in Samnium and at Luceria; that one of the armies marched into Hetruria, but mentions not which of the consuls commanded, and that there was a great slaughter on both sides at Luceria. He adds, that in that battle was vowed a temple to Jupiter Stator^e as Romulus formerly did. But as hitherto, there had only been a place marked out and consecrated whereon

^b See Vol. II. p. 323, 324.

^c Ibid. book vii. chap. 21.

^d Vol. II. book ix. chap. 2.

^e Vol. I. p. 25. note d.

to build a temple, the common-wealth being a second time obliged to perform this vow, a regard for religion induced the senate to order the temple itself to be erected this year.

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XXXVIII.

L. Papirius
Curfor, Sp.
Carvilius
Maximus
consuls.

Y. of R. 459.

B. J. C. 293.

THE succeeding year presents us with a consul, L. Papirius Curfor, illustrious on account of his own glory, as well as that of his father. It likewise exhibits to us a considerable war, and so eminent a victory over the Samnites as had hitherto never been gained by any, excepting by L. Papirius the consul's father. It so fell out that they made this war remarkable, by using the same vigorous efforts and making the same pompous preparations of rich and splendid armor, as they had done in the last^a. They likewise in order to render the Gods propitious initiated, as it were, their soldiers by administering to them an oath, according to some ancient form and dreadful ceremony: For they made a levy through all Samnium by a new law, which devoted to Jupiter^b all such among the youth, as should not present themselves for the service on the general's order, or leave it without his permission. Then the army was appointed to rendezvous at Aquilonia^c, whither the flower of the Samnite forces repaired to the number of forty thousand. In the middle of the camp was made an enclosure, two hundred feet square, with hurdles and planks, and covered over with canvas. Within this was offered a sacrifice, prescribed in an old linen book, by a priest of great age, Ovius Paccius, who affirmed, he had extracted this sacred ceremony from the ancient monuments of the religion of the Samnites, and that their ancestors had made use of it when they formed the secret design of taking Capua from the Hetrurians. When the sacrifice was over,

^a See above pages 11, 12 of this volume.

^b That is, it was lawful for any one to kill them wherever they were found.

^c A city of the Hirpini situated between Beneventum and Luceria. See Plin. 3, 11. No traces of it re-

main at this time. Many historians and itineraries give it a situation, which agrees pretty well with that of *Carbonara* in the *hitber* principality. Holstenius thinks it stood near the present *Lacedogna*, on the river *Ofanto*.

the general sent a messenger, for such as were most distinguished among them for their birth and exploits. They were introduced separately one by one. Besides the other circumstances of the ceremony, which were well adapted to strike men's minds with a religious awe, there were in the midst of the place covered on all sides, altars surrounded with victims, which had been slain there, and centurions with drawn swords. The soldier was made to approach the altars, more like a victim himself, than one who was to assist at the sacred ceremony, and was sworn to reveal nothing of what he should see or hear in that place. Then he was forced to take an oath in form of execration against his own head and person, his family and race, if he did not go to fight wherever his generals should lead him; if he either fled from battle himself, or did not immediately kill, whomsoever he should see fly. As some at first refused to take the oath, they were put to death before the altars; and their bodies laying among the slaughtered victims served as a dreadful lesson to others not to refuse. When all the principal Samnites had bound themselves by this execrable oath, the general nominated ten, each of whom he ordered to choose a companion, who was to do in like manner man by man till the number of sixteen thousand was completed. This army was called the linen legion, from the covering of the inclosure where the Samnite nobility were sworn. They had splendid arms and helmets, adorned with plumes given them. There was another army amounting to somewhat more than twenty thousand men, which differed little from the linen legion either in size, reputation for bravery, or fine accoutrements. This numerous and strong body encamped at Aquilonia.

THE consuls set out from the city; Sp. Carvilius, who had the veteran legions, which the former consul M. Atilius had left in the dominions of Interamna^a, assigned to him, he marched with them,

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^a It had the surname of *Lirinas*. *Ponte Corvo*, on the banks of the It's ruins are yet to be seen near *Liris*.

CHAP. first into Samnium, where he took by storm the
 XXXIX. city of Amiternum ^b, while the enemy were busied
 about their gloomy and superstitious ceremonies. In
 this city he slew near two thousand eight hundred
 men, and took four thousand two hundred and
 seventy prisoners. Papirius having levied a new
 army (for so he had been ordered) stormed Duro-
 nia ^c, where though he took fewer prisoners, yet he
 killed more men than his colleague. They got a
 very rich booty at both places. Then both the
 consuls over-ran Samnium, but committed the
 greatest depredations in the territories of Attina ^d.
 Carvilius came to Cominium ^e, and Papirius to
 Aquilonia, where the whole power of the Samnites
 was encamped. Here, for some time, they neither
 refrained altogether from action, nor came to any
 smart engagement, but spent their time in beating
 up quarters and retiring when opposed, rather pro-
 voking one another, than coming to any close fight.
 For while they begun frequently, and soon gave
 over again these petty attacks, neither side reaped
 any advantage from these daily skirmishes. The
 other Roman army lay twenty miles off, yet
 even at that distance the other consul was con-

^b Brietius mentions two cities which bore the name Amiternum; one, in the country of the Vestini, which is now part of the *Further Abruzzo*, between the rivers Piomba and Pescara; which was the birth-place of the famous historian Salust; and the ruins of which are now known by the name of Amiterno Rovinata. Another, near the head of the river Aternus, now the Pescara, near the city which the natives call San-Vittoro, five miles from Aquila, in the kingdom of Naples.

^c Livy calls the city Papirius made himself master of, Duronia. But we don't know any city of that name in ancient Italy. It is supposed, that the city here spoken of, was called Furconia. At least, this city was near Amiternum, which

the Roman army had taken by assault, a few days before. The ruins of Furconia are to be seen to this day, and are called Forconio; they are over-against the right bank of the river Aternus, opposite to Aquila, which is but three thousand geometrical paces from them. Holstenius places the traces of this city near a church of St. Felix the Martyr, which is built in a place now called S. Feli.

^d The territory of Atina, which the Romans ravaged, took it's name from that city which stood in the country of the Volsci, where the Samnites had made conquests. We have spoken of it elsewhere.

^e It stood on the extremity of Samnium eastward, and not in the place now called Comino.

sulted

sulted with on every resolution, and was more anxious about the success of the war at Aquilonia, where the greatest danger was, than at Cominium which he then besieged. L. Papirius having by this time taken all proper measures for engaging, sent a courier to inform his colleague, “ that he resolved next day to give the enemy battle, if the auspices were favorable. It was therefore absolutely necessary for him to press the siege of Cominium with the utmost vigor, that the Samnites might have no opportunity of sending aid to Aquilonia.” The courier went by day, and returned in the night, with intelligence that his colleague approved the resolution. As soon as the courier set out, Papirius assembled his troops, and made them a long speech concerning the nature of war in general, and the accoutrements the enemy then wore, which served more for show and ostentation, than use and doing execution. It was “ not plumes, he said, that made wounds, and “ Roman javelins would easily pierce gilt and “ painted bucklers. When they should come to “ attack sword in hand, the white tunics of that “ splendid army would be dyed a crimson hue “ with blood. Formerly an army of Samnites, “ glittering with gold and silver, had been utterly “ cut off by his father, and their spoils had proved “ more honorable to the victorious enemy, than “ effectual to their own preservation. Perhaps it “ was the destiny of his name and family, to be “ sent to command against the most extraordinary “ efforts of the Samnites, and take from them those “ spoils, which would splendidly adorn the public “ places of Rome. The immortal Gods would certainly be present to avenge the treaties the Samnites had so often sued for, and so often violated. “ And if he durst presume to pry into the secret will “ of the Gods, he was certain they were never more “ offended at any army than with this, which, polluted with the blood of men and of beasts, shed promis-

“ cruelly

CHAP. “ cuously in an impious sacrifice, had doubly devoted
 XXXIX. “ themselves to the vengeance of Heaven. Having
 “ on the one hand the Gods, who were witnesses to
 “ the treaties concluded with the Romans, to
 “ fear, and on the other, the horrid imprecations
 “ of that oath which they had taken in prejudice of
 “ these treaties ; an oath which they had taken
 “ against their will, and of consequence must detest,
 “ and at the same time make them afraid of the
 “ Gods, their country-men and their enemies.”

CHAP. AFTER having repeated these circumstances,
 XL. which he had been informed of by deserters, to his
 troops, who were already of themselves enraged
 against the enemy, and had their hopes enflamed by
 all encouragements divine and human, they demand-
 ed a battle with an universal shout, were vexed it was
 put off till next day, and heartily repined at the delay
 of a single day and night. At the third watch of the
 night, the courier being returned from the other
 consul, Papirius rose without noise and sent to the
 keeper of the chickens ^a to take the auspices. There
 was

^a The sacred pullets were thought able to resolve their doubts infallibly. These pullets were under the care of a keeper, whose office it was to look after them, and who was therefore called Pullarius. The generals of the Roman armies always took care to have some of these pullets kept in a part of the camp, which was allotted for observing the auguries, and was called augurale. When the general was going to give battle, or enter upon any important expedition, he came early in the morning, to him who kept the pullets ; and then the cage was opened, and meat thrown to them. If they ate greedily, this was a favorable omen, which foreboded an happy event. If part of the corn or paste fell out of their mouths upon the ground, the augury was to his heart's content : and this was called *tripudium solistimum*. If the chickens continued in their cage, and refused to eat, it foreboded a fatal issue to the affair

in hand. And therefore the keeper, who supplied the augur's place, had a power to suspend, or forbid the execution of it. But he often acted as the general would have him, and falsely supposed a happy presage, when there was none ; or played tricks, by keeping the birds a great while without meat, which made them fall greedily to what was given them in the general's presence. Which makes Cicero cry out, with a sort of indignation, *Ergo hoc auspiciū divini quidpiam habere potest, quod tam sit coactum & expressum ? . . nunc vero avis illa inclusa in cavea, & fame enecta, si in offam pultis invadit, & si aliquid ex ore cecidit, hoc tu auspiciū, aut hoc modo Romulū auspicari solitū, putas ? De Divin. b. ii.* Nevertheless, Pliny confesses that great enterprizes were undertaken, or laid aside, as the chickens directed. *Horum sunt tripudia solistima ; hi magistratus nostros quotidie regunt . . . Hi fasces Romanos impellunt, aut retinent, victoriarum omnium*

was no kind of person in the camp who did not CHAP.
eagerly desire a battle ; great and small were equally XL.
impatient for it. The general beheld the ardor of the
troops, and the troops that of the general. It even
reached the officers employed in taking the auspices.
For as the chickens would not eat, the minister ven-
tured to falsify the omen, and assured the consul,
that they had eat very greedily ^b. Papirius, in raptures
of joy, publicly declared the auspices were very
favorable, they were to fight under the protection
of the Gods, and immediately gave the signal. By
good luck, as he was marching out of his camp to
give battle, a deserter informed him, that twenty
cohorts of Samnites, each consisting of four hundred
men, were set out for Cominium. He immediately
dispatched a courier to his colleague, to prevent his
being surprized. Then he ordered the standards to
be brought forth with all expedition, disposed his
bodies of reserve, and appointed the officers who
were to command them. He gave the command of
the right-wing to L. Volumnius, the left to L.
Scipio, and the cavalry to two other lieutenant ge-
nerals, Caius Cæditius, and Caius Trebonius. He
ordered Sp. Nautius to take the pack-saddles off the
mules, and mount some light armed cohorts that used
to serve in the wings, and with them immediately
fetch a compass to an eminence in sight, and in the
heat of the action raise as much dust as possible.
Whilst the general was busily employed in giving
these orders, a dispute arose in hearing of some troop-
ers, between the ministers who attended the chickens,
concerning the auspices of the day. Those who
heard it, thought it a circumstance not to be ne-
glected, and therefore acquainted Sp. Papirius the
consul's nephew, that there was some doubt about

totò orbe patratarum auspices. Monsieur
de la Chaussée has engraven the figure
of a cage, in which the sacred pul-
lets were kept, from an old marble.
And we also find the figure of a

chicken, one of the symbols of the
augurship, on a medal of Mark
Anthony's.

^b See the preceding note.

CHAP. XL. the presages. This youth, born in an age, when the philosophy, which teaches to despise the Gods, was unknown, informed himself exactly in the fact, to prevent his relating a story without foundation, and then reported it to the consul. His uncle answered him, “ I commend your pious zeal and “ diligence. But if he who has the charge of the “ auspices, has given me a false account, he must “ himself answer for the impiety: For my part, I “ took the account he gave me, as a most favorable omen for the Roman people and the “ army.” Then he ordered the centurions to post the keeper of the chickens in the front of the army. The Samnites likewise made their ensigns advance, followed by their army in splendid accoutrements, which made a magnificent shew even to their enemies. Before the shouts were raised, and the two armies engaged, the keeper of the chickens was killed in the front by a random javelin. When this was told to the consul, he cried out, “ the “ Gods give testimony of their being present in the “ battle ; the criminal is punished.” Whilst he was saying this, a raven croaked ^c over against him, upon which in a transport of joy affirming, that the Gods had never interested themselves more evidently in human affairs, he caused a charge to be sounded, and a shout set up.

CHAP. XLI. THEN they engaged with great obstinacy, but the dispositions of the two armies were very different. Rage, hope, and desire of revenge, urged on to battle the Romans, who thirsted for the blood of the enemy. Most of the Samnites were forced by necessity and a motive of religion, rather to defend themselves against their wills than attack. And as they had been accustomed for several years to be defeated, they would not have been able to have sustained the first shout and charge of the Romans, had not a more prevalent fear restrained them from

* If the raven croaked with a bad, if with a hoarse, shrill voice it was a good omen, but

flying. For they had before their eyes the whole solemnity of that secret sacrifice, armed priests, the promiscuous slaughter of men and beasts, altars stained with pure and impure blood, the dreadful imprecation and frightful form of words, which they had pronounced against their families and posterity. These were the ties that kept them from flying. They were more afraid of their countrymen than of the enemy. The Romans pressed them on all sides, right, left, and centre, and made great slaughter of them while they stood stupified as it were with a double dread of Gods and men. The resistance they made was faint, and such as is usually made by those whom nothing but downright fear keeps from flying. The slaughter had already reached their standards, when a great dust appeared on one side of them, which seemed to be raised by the march of a numerous army. Sp. Nautius, (some call him Octavius Metius) who commanded the cohorts that were mounted on the mules, raised a greater dust than could be expected from so small a number; for the servants of the army as they sat upon their mules dragged after them bushy boughs of trees along the ground. Their arms and standards appeared in the front through a confused light; and the dust arising higher and thicker behind, looked like cavalry bringing up the rear of an army. Not only the Samnites, but even the Romans were deceived by this, and the consul confirmed them in their error. For he called out in the front so as to be heard by the enemy, “that Cominium was taken and his victorious colleague at hand. That they should use their utmost efforts to complete the victory before the other army deprived them of that honor.” He was on horse-back when he made this speech: then he ordered the legionary tribunes and centurions to open their files and make way for the horse. He had before told Trebonius Cæditius to charge with the horse as vigorously as possible, as soon as they should see him brandish his spear above his head with the

CHAP. point upwards. Upon this signal every thing was
 XLI. executed as had been before directed. The files
 opened and left a free passage, at which the horse
 entered at a gallop, rushed upon the centre of the
 enemy with their lances, and broke their ranks
 wherever they charged. Volumnius and Scipio
 seconded their attack with the legions, and beat
 down the Samnites in their consternation. Then the
 linen cohorts were routed and overthrown by the
 vengeance of Gods and men; those who had
 taken the oath, and those who had not, fled both
 alike and feared nothing but the enemy. Their foot,
 which escaped in the battle, were driven into their
 camp at Aquilonia. Their nobility and cavalry fled
 to Bovianum: the horse pursued the horse, and
 foot the foot, and the two wings separated, the right
 marching to the Samnites camp, and the left to the
 town. Volumnius presently took the camp, but
 Scipio met with greater resistance at the town, not
 because the conquered had more courage there, but
 because walls are a better defence against assail-
 ants than a bare trench. Besides, they beat off the
 enemy with stones. Scipio perceiving that the siege
 of this fortified town would prove very long, if he
 could not carry the place while the enemy were in
 their first consternation, and before they recovered
 spirits, asked his soldiers, “if they could patiently
 “endure to see the enemy’s camp taken by the other
 “wing, and themselves, who had hitherto been vic-
 “torious, repulsed from the gates of the town.” As
 they by an unanimous shout testified their resolution to
 the contrary, he clapt his buckler over his head, and
 marched foremost to the gate. The rest followed, and
 by forming the military tortoise forced their way into
 the city, beat down the Samnites who were next the
 gates, and made themselves masters of the walls. But
 they durst not venture farther by reason of their
 being so few in number.

CHAP. THE consul at first was ignorant of all this,
 XLII. and busied in bringing off his army, as it was
 I near

near sun-set, and the night fast approaching made every thing seem dangerous and suspicious even to the conquerors. But as he advanced farther, he saw on his right the enemy's camp taken, and on his left heard the promiscuous noise and tumult of assailants and assailed ; for at this very moment it happened the gate was attacked. Upon this he rode nearer and discovered his own men upon the walls. By this perceiving that his work was not finished, since by the rashness of a small detachment, there was still room to perform signal service, he ordered the troops, which he had drawn off from the pursuit, to advance against the town. They entered it on the side next to them, but as night came on he kept them quiet. The enemy abandoned it in the night ; thirty thousand three hundred and forty Samnites were slain that day at Aquilonia ; three thousand eight hundred and seventy prisoners with ninety-seven ensigns taken ^a. Moreover it is recorded, that no general was ever seen to behave with more cheerfulness than Papirius did in that battle, whether it was owing to his natural disposition or his confident assurance of victory. From the same greatness of mind he could not be diverted from battle by controverted auspices, and in the heat of action, when it is customary to vow temples to the Gods, he only vowed, in case he routed the enemy, to present Jupiter Victor with a cup of metheglin ^b before he himself should taste strong wine. The Gods were pleased with this vow and turned the ill presages to good.

THE other consul met with the same success at Cominium. For having advanced with all his forces

^a Our author observes above in the end of chapter xxxviii. that the linen legion consisted of sixteen thousand men, and the other army of more than twenty thousand. In all the Samnite army made up near thirty-seven thousand, thirty thousand three hundred and forty of whom were slain, and three thousand eight hundred and seventy taken prisoners, besides the twenty cohorts which in chap. xl. were de-

tached to Cominium, and, in chap. xliii. lost only 280 men, which is not consistent, and leads us to believe, that some copyist has falsified the number of the slain.

^b Wine mixed with honey, which the Romans reckoned delicious drink, and was used in libations and sacrifices. The generals at their triumphs commonly distributed some of it among the soldiers that marched in their processions.

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XLIII.

by day-light, he invested it quite round, placing strong guards to prevent sallies. When he was giving the signal, the coming of the express from his colleague with the news of the march of the twenty cohorts, obliged him to delay the assault, and draw off part of his troops which were formed and ready to attack the place. He detached D. Brutus Sæva, a lieutenant general, with the first legion, twenty cohorts of servants, and the cavalry, to intercept the succors sent by the enemy ; with orders, wherever he met them to stop and amuse them ; and even to fight them, if reduced to that necessity, rather than suffer them to come to Cominium. He ordered the scaling-ladders to be applied round the whole walls, and marched his troops up to the gates covered with their bucklers. The gates were broken down and the walls scaled at the same time. As the Samnites, before they saw the enemy on the walls, had courage sufficient to keep them from approaching the town, so after they found there was no longer fighting at a distance or with missile weapons, but hand to hand ; and that those, who had from below got upon the walls with difficulty, would easily, now they had conquered the place, which was the thing they dreaded most, defeat those who were not their match on even ground, they abandoned their fort, and being driven from their walls into the forum, there tried their last chance. But at length fifteen thousand threw down their arms and surrendered to the consul at discretion. Four thousand three hundred and eighty were slain ; such was the success at Cominium and at Aquilonia, but between these two towns, where a third battle was expected, no enemy appeared ; for the detachment, being recalled when within seven miles of Cominium, was present at neither battle. Having at twilight arrived within sight of Aquilonia on one hand, and their camp on the other, they halted in surprize at hearing a great tumult and noise from each. But by and by their camp was set on fire by the Romans, and by this being as-
sured

fured of the defeat of their army, they durst not advance farther ; wherefore with little or no consultation they laid themselves down in their arms on the ground where they were, and spent the whole night in solicitude and a fearful expectation of the day. At day-break, being uncertain what rout to take, they perceived themselves descried by the Roman cavalry, which being detached in pursuit of the Samnites that had abandoned the city in the night, spied this body without guards or lines for their defence. They had likewise been descried from the walls of Aquilonia, and some cohorts of foot detached from thence after them. But they could not come up with them, though the cavalry did, and slew near two hundred and eighty in their rear. They threw away abundance of arms in their fright, and left eighteen ensigns behind them. So that without farther loss, they escaped safe, though in great consternation, to Bovianum.

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XLIII.

THE joy of each of the Roman armies was greatly augmented by the good success of the other. The two consuls by concert abandoned the cities to be plundered by their soldiers, and after having taken every thing out of the houses set them on fire. Thus was Cominium and Aquilonia reduced to ashes in one and the same day. Then the consuls, with mutual gratulations of both soldiers and generals, encamped together. In sight of both armies, Carvilius commended and rewarded his troops according as each deserved. Papirius too, by whose army had been performed a variety of brave exploits in the battle, at the camp, and at the city, gave bracelets and gold crowns to Sp. Nautius, Sp. Papirius his nephew, four centurions and a company of hastati. To Nautius for his expedition, in which he had terrified the enemy under shew of a great army ; to young Papirius for his heroic behavior with the cavalry, both in the battle and in the night time when he harassed the Samnites in their flight from Aquilonia : to the centurions and soldiers, because

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XLIV.

cause they were the first who entered the gates and scaled the walls of Aquilonia. He likewise gave silver bracelets and little horns to all the cavalry, for their having signalized themselves in several places. Then was a council of war held to deliberate whether it was convenient to withdraw both armies or at least one out of Samnium. It was resolved on as best, in order the more effectually to crush the power of the Samnites, to act for the future with the greatest vigor, and improve their victory so as to deliver Samnium totally subdued to the succeeding consuls. “ Since the
“ enemy had no army to keep the field or fight
“ battles, they conceived the only method to carry
“ on the war, was to attack their towns, by the
“ sack of which the troops would be enriched with
“ spoil, and the enemy obliged to fight for their
“ altars and fire-sides.” Wherefore after sending letters to the senate and Roman people to inform them of all that was done, they separated, Papirius to attack Sepinum^a, and Carvilius Volana^b.

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XLV.

THE consuls letters, which were read both in the senate-house and assembly of the people, occasioned great joy. The public rejoicings were celebrated by solemn thanksgiving for four days. In reality this victory was not only considerable but very seasonable for the Romans, as it fell out about the same time that news was brought of the Hetrurians having revolted. And people began to consider, how in case any misfortune happened in Samnium, they would be able to make head against Hetruria, which, encouraged by the confederacy in Samnium, where both the consuls and all the Roman forces were employed, took this opportunity of

^a Situated at the foot of the Apennines, and at the head of the river Tamoro, which empties itself into the Caloré, near Benevento, and is now called Supino, upon the confines of the county of Molise, in the kingdom of Naples, towards Terra di Lavoro.

^b An ancient manuscript of our author calls the place which Car-

vilius went to Velia, which geographers call sometimes Helia, and sometimes Elea, it is five miles from Possidonia, near Pisciotà in the *Hither Principality*. Some late authors are of opinion, we ought to read Velinam, as if the city in question stood near the head of the river Velinus. The situation of Volana cannot be ascertained.

rebelliſh, while that people were otherwiſe engaged. The prætor M. Atilius introduced the deputies of the allies, who complained, that their country was burnt and laid waſte by their neighbors, the Hetrurians, becauſe they would not relinquish their alliance with Rome; and in the moſt earneſt terms beſought the conſcript fathers, to protect them from the inſults and injuries of thoſe common enemies. The deputies were answered, that the ſenate would take care their allies ſhould have no reaſon to repent their faithful attachment to the Roman ſtate. And the Hetrurians ſhould very ſoon ſuffer the ſame fate with the Samnites. But notwithſtanding they would not have proceeded with expedition againſt the Hetrurians, had not advice come, that the Falifci, who had long been friends of the Romans, had joined thoſe enemies. The proximity of that people alarmed the fears of the fathers, and made them inſtantly reſolve to ſend feciales to demand reſtitution of effects. Upon their reſuſal, war was declared againſt them by order of the ſenate, and an ordinance of the people. And the conſuls were ordered to caſt lots, which ſhould march with his army from Samnium into Hetruria. Carvilius had already taken the cities of Volana, Palumbinum^c and Herculaneum^d, from the Samnites. He took the firſt in a very few days, and the ſecond the ſame day he made his approaches to it. But at Herculaneum, he engaged twice with doubtful ſucceſs, and ſuſtained more loſs than the enemy in theſe actions. Then he entrenched himſelf, and beſieged the town, which he at laſt took by ſtorm. In theſe three cities ten thouſand men

^c Upon the ſuppoſition that this city ſtood two miles below *New Capua*, it muſt have been in Campania. Nor does this argue that it did not belong to the Samnites; for as they made frequent incuſſions into Campania, they might have taken and retained the poſſeſſion of it. Beſides the place near *New Capua*, is now called *Palumbara*. But

let the reader conſult for himſelf in a caſe, wherein we dare not abſolutely determine for him.

^d Ancient hiſtorians, itineraries, and geographers, only mention one town of this name, which was in Campania. But we will not from their ſilence abſolutely conclude, that there was not one in Samnium.

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were slain, so that but a very few were taken prisoners. When the consuls cast lots for the provinces, it was Carvilius's chance to go to Hetruria, to the great joy of his troops, who already were not able to endure the cold in Samnium. But Papirius met with greater opposition at Sepinum, being often obliged to engage in pitched battles, often in skirmishes, and frequently round the city against sallies. It was neither a siege, nor a war wherein they were upon an equal footing with the enemy; for the Samnites did not so much defend themselves by their walls, as their walls by their bodies and arms. But by these engagements he at length reduced it to a regular siege, by which, batteries and main force he took it in the end. When it was taken the enraged troops committed great slaughter, cut to pieces seven thousand four hundred, and took near three thousand prisoners. As the Samnites had laid up their effects in a few cities, the spoils were very considerable, and all granted to the soldiers.

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XLVI.



THE whole country was already covered with snow, and the troops could no longer keep the field; wherefore the consul marched his army back from Samnium. On his arrival at Rome, he was granted a triumph by universal consent, and accordingly triumphed, before the expiration of his office, with as great pomp and splendor, as the simplicity of these ages could admit. The horse and foot marched in the procession adorned with their rewards^a of honor; many civic-crowns, many coronæ vallares

^a Kennet, in his Roman antiquities, (part ii. c. xvi.) gives the following account of the military rewards mentioned here, which we shall insert at length in this place.

The encouragement of valor and industry was much more considerable than the proceedings against the contrary vices. The most considerable (not to speak of the promotion from one station to another, nor of the occasional donatives in money, distinguished by this name from the

largesses bestowed on the common people, and termed congiarii) were first, the *Dona imperatoria*; such as

The *hasta pura*, a fine spear of wood without any iron on it; such an one as Virgil has given Sylvius in the sixth book of the *Æneids*, v. 760.

Ille, vides? pura juvenis qui nititur hasta.

This present was usually bestowed on him, who in some little skirmish had killed an enemy, engaging him hand

vallares and murales were seen. Every one was particularly attentive to the spoils of the Samnites, and compared

to hand. They were reckoned very honorable gifts, and the Gods are commonly represented with such spears on the old coins. Mr. Walker derives hence the custom of our great officers carrying white rods or staves, as ensigns of their places.

The *Armillaë*, a sort of bracelets, given upon account of eminent service, only to such as were born Romans.

The *Torques*, golden and silver collars, wreathed with curious art and beauty. Pliny attributes the golden collars to the auxiliaries, and the silver to the Roman soldiers; but this is supposed to be a mistake.

The *Phaleraë*, commonly thought to be a suit of rich trappings for a horse, but, because we find them bestowed on the foot as well as the cavalry, we may rather suppose them to have been golden chains of like nature with the *Torques*, only that they seem to have hung down to the breast; whereas the others went only round the neck. The hopes of these two last are particularly urged, among the advantages of a military life, by Juvenal, Sat. xvi. ver. 60.

Ut læti phalaris omnis, & torquibus omnes.

The *Vexilla*, a sort of banners of different color, worked in silk, or other curious materials, such as Augustus bestowed on Agrippa, after he had won the battle of Actium.

Next to these were the several coronets received on various occasions. As,

Corona Civica, given to any soldier that had saved the life of a Roman citizen in an engagement. This was reckoned more honorable than any other crown, though composed of no better materials than oaken boughs. Virgil calls it *civilis quercus*, *Æneid. vi. v. 772.*

Atque umbrata gerunt civili tempora quercu.

Plutarch has guessed very happily at the reason why the branches of this tree should be made use of before all others. For the oaken wreath, says he, being otherwise sacred to Jupiter, the great guardian

of their city; they might therefore think it the most proper ornament for him who had preserved a citizen. Besides, the oak may very well claim the preference in this case; because in the primitive times, that tree alone was thought almost sufficient for the preserving of man's life: Its acorns were the principal diet of the old mortals, and the honey, which was commonly found there, presented them with a very pleasant liquor.

It was a particular honor conferred on the persons who had merited this crown, that, when they came to any of the public shows, the whole company, as well senate as people, should signify their respect, by rising up when they saw them enter; and that they should take their seat on these occasions amongst the senators; being also excused from all troublesome duties and services in their own persons, and procuring the same immunity for their father, and grandfather by his side.

Corona Muralis, given to him who first scaled the walls of a city in a general assault; and therefore in the shape of it there was some allusion made to the figure of a wall.

Corona Castrensis, or *Valaris*, the reward of him who had forced the enemy's intrenchments.

Corona Navalis, bestowed on such as had signalized their valor in an engagement at sea; being set round with figures like beaks of ships.

—*Cui belli insigne superbum*

Tempora navali fulgent rostrata corona.

Virg. *Æn. viii. v. 684.*

Lipsius fancies the *Corona Navalis* and the *Rostrata*, to have been two distinct species, though they are generally believed to be the same kind of crown.

Corona Obsidionalis: This was not like the rest, given by the general to the soldiers, but presented by the common consent of the soldiers to the general, when he had delivered the Romans or their allies from a siege. It was composed of the grass growing in the besieged place.

Corona

CHAP. compared them for splendor and beauty with those
 XLVI. his father had taken, and which were well known,
 because the public buildings were adorned with
 them. Several prisoners of distinction, who were
 illustrious for their own exploits and those of their
 fathers, were led in this triumph. 2533000^b asses
 of brass were carried in procession, and is said to
 have arose from the sale of captives. The sil-
 ver which had been taken in the cities amounted
 to one thousand three hundred and thirty pound
 weight. No part of it was given to the soldiers,

Corona Triumphalis, made with
 wreaths of laurel, and proper only
 to such generals as had the honor of
 a triumph. In after ages this was
 changed for gold, (*aurum coronari-
 um*) and not restrained only to those
 that actually triumphed, but pre-
 sented on several other accounts, as
 commonly by the foreign states and
 provinces to their patron and bene-
 factors. Several of the other crowns
 too are thought to have been of
 gold; as the *Castrensis*, the mural,
 and the naval.

Besides these, we meet with the
coronæ aureæ, often bestowed on
 soldiers without any other additional
 term.

And Dion Cassius mentions a par-
 ticular sort of coronet made with
 olive boughs, and bestowed like the
 rest, in consideration of some signal
 act of valor.

Lipsius believes these to have suc-
 ceeded in the room of the golden
 crowns, after the latter were laid aside.

^b The fathers Catrou and Rouille
 observe, b. 20. n. 34. "most editions
 " of Livy differ as to this sum. In some
 " we read, *Æris gravis transvecta
 " vicies centum millia & auri tri-
 " ginta millia*, that is, that out
 " of the produce of the spoils taken
 " from the enemy, and arising from
 " the sale of the prisoners, two
 " millions of pounds of copper, and
 " thirty thousand pounds of gold,
 " an incredible sum for those days,
 " was put into the public trea-
 " sury. In other editions, the
 " sum is advanced to thirty three
 " thousand, & *auri triginta tria
 " millia*. In Galen's edition, the
 " text mentions only two million,

" five hundred, and thirty three
 " thousand pounds, without say-
 " ing any thing of the gold. In
 " the manuscript, in Monsieur Col-
 " bert's library, the sum is exor-
 " bitant. It is there two hundred
 " thousand millions, and thirty
 " three thousand asses, of a pound
 " each, about 645833439 l. 17 s.
 " 11 d. This enormous quantity
 " of asses, reckoned only at one
 " French sol each, will amount to
 " near a thousand millions, and
 " thirty three thousand French
 " livres. To which if we add the
 " thirty thousand pounds of gold,
 " the whole will amount to about
 " sixteen millions, five hundred
 " and three thousand French livres,
 " without the thousand three hun-
 " dred and thirty pounds of silver,
 " reserved out of the plunder of the
 " conquered cities. But it is not
 " probable, that some cities of
 " Samnium should be able to fur-
 " nish sixteen millions and a half
 " in gold, at a time when this
 " metal was very scarce, and con-
 " sequently much less common than
 " silver. Besides, it is not to be
 " imagined that the Romans should
 " heap up such sums in one cam-
 " paign, as would now be thought
 " excessive. We have therefore
 " followed Mr. de Thou's manu-
 " script, which reduces the whole
 " sum to two millions, thirty thou-
 " sand pounds of brass, 6555 l. 4 s.
 " 2 d. exclusive of the thirty three
 " thousand pounds of gold, of which
 " that manuscript does not say one
 " word. It mentions only one thou-
 " sand three hundred pounds of
 " silver."

but was all carried into the treasury. This highly CHAP.
offended the people, because the tax for the pay- XLVI.
ment of the army was levied upon them; whereas
had the consul not had the vanity to have carried
the sums taken from the enemy into the treasury, it
would have been sufficient both to reward the sol-
diers and pay the arrears of the whole army. As I
do not find in any ancient writer, that the consul
vowed a temple to Quirinus in the battle, besides
the circumstance of his not being able to build it in
so short a time, it must be that vowed by his father
which he at this time dedicated and adorned with
the spoils of the enemy. There was such abundance
of them, that not only this temple and the forum
were adorned with them, but many given to the
neighboring allies and colonies to adorn their tem-
ples and public places. When his triumph was
over, he put his army into winter quarters in the
territories of Vescia, because they were exposed to
the incursions of the Samnites. In the mean time,
the other consul Carvilius sat down before Trof-
lum^c in Etruria, and having for a vast sum of
money granted liberty to four hundred and seventy
of the richest inhabitants to depart, stormed the
city, where the remaining multitude fell into his
hands. After this he made himself master of five forti-
fied castles. Here he slew two thousand four hundred
of the enemy, and took near two thousand prisoners.
The Falisci sued for a peace, but he granted them only
a truce for a year, for which they were to pay one
hundred thousand asses of brass^d, and a year's pay
to his troops. After these exploits he left Etruria
to receive the honor of a triumph, which though
not so splendid as his colleague's, over the Samnites,
yet he equally merited for his many successes in the

^c In the neighborhood of Monte Fiascone, and near the lake Bolsena, which took its name from Volsinii, whose lands it watered. The Roman cavalry under the conduct of one Numius, took this town by storm, and from it were called Trofili, till the time of Caius Gracchus, when they

were ashamed to bear a name which signified a delicate effeminate man. In this last sense it is used by Seneca. Epist. 8.

^d Three hundred twenty-two pound eighteen shillings and four pence according to Arbuthnot.

Hetrurian war. He carried into the treasury three hundred and ninety thousand asses of brass ^c. With the rest he built a temple to Fortune, which favors the bold ^f, near that dedicated to the same goddess by king Servius Tullius. Besides, he distributed to each soldier one hundred and two asses of brass ^g, and twice that sum to the centurions and knights, a largess more grateful as his colleague had been very niggardly to his men. Nay, this consul was in such high favor with the people, that he protected his lieutenant general L. Posthumius, who was indicted by M. Scantius tribune of the people; he eluded the prosecution by pleading his command in the army; and during his absence they could not pass a definitive sentence.

CHAP.
XLVII.



THE year being expired, new plebeian tribunes entered upon their office; but there being some defect in their election, others were chosen in their stead five days after. The lustrum was completed by P. Cornelius Arvina, and C. Marcius Rutilus, censors. The number of citizens registered amounted to two hundred sixty two thousand three hundred and twenty. They were the twenty-sixth censors, and this the nineteenth lustrum since the first institution of the office. The same year such as had been rewarded with crowns for their exploits in war, wore them at the Roman games, and the custom first introduced, to give palm branches, after the manner of the Greeks, to them who came off victors in these games. The curule ædiles likewise, who exhibited these shews, having fined some graziers, paved the way from Mars-hill to Bovillæ^a. Papirius held the consular comitia, and Q. Fabius Gurges son of Maximus, and D. Junius Brutus Scæva were elected consuls. Papirius himself was chosen

^c One thousand two hundred fifty-nine pound seven shillings and six pence.

^f On the banks of the Tyber without the city. Ovid, Fast. b. vi.

Varro de ling. Lat. b. v.

^g Six Shillings and seven-pence.

^a It stood in old Latium, between Rome and Alba Longa, not far from the Tyber.

prætor. The many successes of this year could scarce
balance one evil, which was the plague that raged both
in city and in country. So violent was it that it was
looked upon as a prodigy. The sybilline books were
consulted, to know when the Gods would put an end
to it, or what remedy there was for it. In them it was
found, that Æsculapius must be fetched from Epidau-
rus to Rome, which could not be executed this year,
because the consuls were employed in the war, and
they only appointed solemn prayers to that God for
one day.

CHAP.
XLVII.

End of the TENTH BOOK.



P R E F A C E
T O
F R E I N S H E I M's
S U P P L E M E N T
T O T H E
R O M A N H I S T O R Y
B Y

T I T U S L I V I U S of *Padua*.

TH E work of our author has not escaped the injuries of time, and the dark ages of barbarous ignorance have made breaches in his history, which cannot be sufficiently lamented, and, in all probability, the books that are lost will never be recovered.

His history originally consisted of an hundred and forty, or an hundred and forty-two books, which, by editors, have commonly been divided into tens, and hence called decades.

Here

P R E F A C E.

Here ends the first decade, or tenth book, which has brought the Roman story down to the four hundred and sixtieth year from the foundation of that state.

John Freinsheim, an eminent and illustrious German writer, born at Ulm, in the year of Christ one thousand six hundred and eight, has endeavored to repair, from the rich mines of antiquity, the breaches made in Livy's history. He with incredible pains, surprizing judgment and accuracy, collected from ancient authors, as well Greek as Latin, all they have said concerning those parts of the Roman history, which are wanting in Livy. And excepting some few chasms in the five last books of that author, that are extant, has filled up all the void places, and thereby, in a great measure, restored what was lost of him.

The first part of his supplement to Livy was first published at Ulm, in the year one thousand six hundred and forty-nine, under the auspices of Christina queen of Sweden, and has prefixed to it an elegant panegyric on that illustrious princess.

The second decade, or ten books of the Roman historian, is of the number of those that are lost, but supplied in this first part of Freinsheim's supplement, and includes what is wanting between the four hundred and sixtieth, and the five hundred and thirty-third year of Rome.

With

P R E F A C E.

With this first part was published, at the same place, a second, in one thousand six hundred and sixty-two. And this completes the history. Freinsheim had put down, in the margin, the names of all the ancient annalists and historians, and pointed out the particular places of their writings, from which he had extracted his materials. And it is no small loss to the reader, that the editors of this impression left them out.

Besides what Rollin says of Freinsheim and his supplement, in that part of his Ancient History, where he speaks of Livy, he has given the most genuine testimony to his worth, by using the materials, ready collected by the German author, in compiling his Roman History.

Dujatius, Clarke, and several others have shewn their esteem and value for this work of his, by inserting it in their editions of the remains of the Roman historian.

In imitation of so illustrious patterns, we have, to the best of our abilities, exhibited it to the world in an English translation, that those, who have only the advantage of reading their own language, may not meet interruption in the history of an empire next in power to that of the Gods, and have the Roman story complete from the days of Romulus to the twenty-second year of the reign of Cæsar Augustus.

JOHN FREINSHEIM'S
SUPPLEMENT
TO THE
ROMAN HISTORY

BY

TITUS LIVIUS of *Padua*.

DECADE II. BOOK XI.

Fabius Gurgus, the consul, defeated by the Samnites, and the senate resolving to remove him from the command of the army, his father, Fabius Maximus, beseeches them not to stamp this mark of disgrace on him. The argument, which chiefly prevails with them, is his promising to serve in quality of lieutenant-general to his son. He keeps his word, and the consul, assisted by his advice and prudent conduct, defeats the Samnites, obtains a triumph, and beheads C. Pontius the Samnite general, after he had led him in triumph. The state being afflicted with the plague, deputies are sent to Epidaurus, to fetch the image of Æsculapius from thence to Rome. They bring with them a Serpent, which comes on board their ship, and in which, it is thought, that divinity resided. A temple built to Æsculapius in the same place where it goes ashore on the island of the Tiber. L. Posthumius, a man of consular rank, condemned for setting the soldiers to work on his own estate, when he commanded the army. The Samnites sue for peace, and a league renewed with them the fourth time. The consul, Curius Dentatus, having defeated the Samnites, and conquered the rebellious Sabines, who surrendered themselves to him, triumphs twice during the same consulate. Colonies sent to Castrum, Sena, and Adria. The first institution of the Triumviri Capiales. A census held, and lustrum closed. The number of citizens enrolled 273000. The commons, on account of debt and long and grievous

Vol. III. seditions,

seditions, in the end make a secession to Janiculum, from whence they are brought back by the dictator Q. Hortensius, who dies in that very office. Besides these, this book contains the war with the Volturnenses; and likewise with the Lucanians, against whom, it was thought meet to send aid to the Tyrrhenians.

CHAP.

I.

Q. Fabius
Gurgus, and
D. Brutus,
consuls.

Y. of R.

460. Bef.

J. C. 292.

BY this time the strength of the Samnites was in a great measure exhausted by many battles, and there was no room to doubt but the war might be soon brought to a conclusion, if these weak and dispirited enemies should get as little time as possible to recover themselves. Therefore Q. Fabius the consul, hurried on by the heat of youth, and determined to have the glory of giving it the finishing stroke, having completed the levies with all possible expedition, led his army directly to Campania. For the Samnites being a hardy people, and by all the disasters they met with, driven to despair rather than intimidated, when the former consuls drew off the Roman legions to attend their triumph, had improved this opportunity, and by the troops they raised at this time, with the remains of their former armies, got together a very considerable force. And as they knew that the Romans were distressed by a pestilence, and were likewise inform'd, that the consuls elected for that year were not much to be dreaded for their authority in the army, or experience in warlike affairs; these considerations encouraged their hopes, and therefore they fell a pillaging and laying waste the lands of the Campanians, whom they had always despised, but now hated more than ever, because they looked upon them to be the source of all the calamities they suffered, and the dangers to which they found themselves exposed.

CHAP.

II.

THE Roman general had a stock of courage every way suited to the dignity of the Fabian family; but his contempt of a nation who had been so often defeated by his countrymen, and his eagerness to signalize himself, made him neglect all the rules of a wise and prudent conduct. For having led his army towards the enemy with extraordinary haste, a party,

party, whom the general of the Samnites had sent before to observe his motions, having discovered the Roman army, were retiring to their main body. Fabius, upon sight of this, imagined their whole army was retreating, and therefore without being acquainted with the nature of the place, or minding the condition of his men, he gave orders to attack the enemy with all possible haste, as if all his hopes of victory had depended entirely upon expedition. But on the other side, the Samnites being informed before-hand of the enemies approach, performed every thing with great circumspection; they possessed themselves of the places of greatest advantage, drew up their army in the order of battle, and the generals made such moving speeches as were proper to animate the courage of the soldiers. In consequence of this the event of the engagement was such as might be expected. For the troops of the Samnites being drawn up in good order, and prepared for action, easily routed the Romans, who were wearied with their long and precipitate march, and advanced in disorder, like persons who came to plunder rather than fight. Three thousand of Fabius's men were killed, the number of the wounded was yet greater than that of the slain, and nothing but the seasonable approach of the night prevented the utter ruin of his army.

CHAP.
II.


AFTER this having posted themselves in a place of greater advantage, they fortified their camp as well as could be expected in so great a consternation; but their affairs did not seem to be in a much better situation there, nor their courage and confidence greater than in the field; for there was no rest for the weary, food for the hungry, nor medicines for the sick and wounded, because they had left all their baggage in their former camp, and taken nothing along with them but their arms. So that they passed that whole night amidst the groans of the dying and lamentations of the living, and all in the greatest horror and despair waited for the approaching day as

CHAP.
III.


CHAP. their last. “ For it was impossible, said they, that
 III. “ they when wearied with labor, spent with watch-
 “ ing, faint with their wounds, discouraged by the loss
 “ of a battle, and much diminished in their num-
 “ bers, could stand before an enemy, for whom their
 “ whole army when safe and sound could not be an
 “ equal match, though their bodies were in full
 “ vigor, and their courage animated with the most
 “ promising hopes of victory.” But when they had
 thus given themselves up for lost, a mistake of their
 enemies, as it commonly happens, relieved their
 fears ; for being informed that the other consul was
 upon his march, they were afraid to attack Fabius’s
 camp, lest his colleague, with his army of fresh troops,
 should come up and enclose them ; wherefore being
 satisfied with the advantage already obtained, which
 was far beyond their expectation, they decamped and
 marched another way, and by their departure gave
 the Romans an opportunity of retiring to a place of
 greater security.


CHAP. WHEN these accounts reached Rome, the state,
 IV. more alarmed at the disgrace they had received than
 the loss sustained, were highly provoked, that when
 one of the most tedious wars, they had ever been en-
 gaged in, was upon the point of being concluded, the
 consul’s temerity had inspired the Samnites with fresh
 hopes, and thereby given them occasion to renew it in
 a more terrible manner than they had done for a long
 time before. The tribunes of the people used to be
 the only persons, who upon the back of such disasters
 endeavored, by frequent harangues in the assem-
 blies of the commons, to spread hatred and indigna-
 tion through all the parts of the city, but they were
 not alone upon this occasion. For when the affair
 came under the consideration of the fathers, they were
 very severe in giving their sentiments, and an act of
 senate was passed, whereby “ Fabius the consul was
 “ ordered to appear at Rome, against a certain day,
 “ to take his trial.” As soon as he appeared he was
 attacked by a great number of accusers, nor could his
 conduct


conduct be defended ; and the reputation of old Fabius, which was the only thing that could be of use to the person accused, seemed to have a contrary effect. For they thought it the more unpardonable in him, who was the son of such an extraordinary father, and trained up amidst the triumphs of his family, to suffer himself to be defeated by such a palpable instance of bad conduct, and thereby not only derive disgrace upon the Roman name, but also stain the reputation of his own family, and sully the victories obtained by his ancestors.

CHAP.
IV.

THEIR minds were so enraged with these considerations, that they were not like to give an impartial hearing to what the delinquent had to advance in his own defence ; but they were appeased, first by the uncommon tenderness and affection of his father Fabius, and soon after by his moving speech. For this great man, fearing that his son would be removed from the command of the army on account of this miscarriage, said nothing at all to excuse the crime ; but “ modestly
“ recounting his own merits, and those of his ancestors, entreated they would not on this occasion pass
“ a censure, which would be extremely afflicting to
“ him in his old age, as well as derive disgrace
“ upon the whole Fabian family. Yet he would not
“ desire, that out of regard to so many of that name,
“ who, almost from the infancy of this city, had enlarged the Roman state by their wisdom and valor, nor particularly to those three hundred who
“ had defended the commonwealth at the expence
“ of their own lives, and almost the entire ruin of the
“ Fabian name, they should forgive an oversight in
“ one single person, if it should be found incurable, and
“ it could be made appear, that any greater advantage
“ could be obtained from punishing than pardoning
“ his son, because he had effectually learned to prefer the love of his country to every other passion.
“ But the truth is, continued he, all the evil you had
“ to fear from this youth is already pass’d, whereas
“ the advantages which his great parts and genius,

CHAP.
V.

CHAP. V.  “ and his virtue that has been exercised and improv-
 “ ed under my care, whom you always considered as
 “ none of the worst of tutors, seem to promise, are
 “ yet to be expected, if these hopes are not pre-
 “ cluded by an unseasonable though a just severity.
 “ It has been an advantage to many that they have
 “ committed mistakes in their first exploits, because
 “ they have thus improved their caution and pru-
 “ dence, and the remembrance of former miscarriages
 “ has put them upon repairing indifferent losses
 “ with extraordinary success.

CHAP. VI.  “ BESIDES I know not whether it is not owing
 “ to the envy of fortune rather than the miscarriage
 “ of any particular man, that the long continued
 “ prosperity of the state, and of our family, has been
 “ interrupted by an inconsiderable loss; though I
 “ think I ought to impute it to the good will of the
 “ Gods rather than their envy, since it is an in-
 “ stance of their goodness, that by a disaster not
 “ so hurtful to the state as it is effectual for our
 “ instruction, we are put in mind that we are but
 “ men, and guarded against the fatal pride which
 “ commonly follows too great a flow of prosperity.
 “ Whatever the matter may be, Romans, it is cer-
 “ tain my mind presaged some unlucky circumstance,
 “ when on the day of election I earnestly pleaded
 “ with you not to make my son consul. For when I
 “ considered that my father, my grandfather, and others
 “ of my ancestors had been very often advanced to
 “ this dignity, as I had five times bore the office my-
 “ self, I began to fear that neither Gods nor men
 “ would be quite satisfied to see the highest honors
 “ always continued in the same family. And I wish
 “ either my earnest solicitations had prevailed at that
 “ time, or you would now continue the favor you
 “ have once bestowed, that what you conferred upon
 “ my son, against my will, with an intention to do
 “ him honor, may not prove the occasion of un-
 “ heard of disgrace to both, and you may not be
 “ accused of rashness; for if you now change your
 “ minds,

“ minds, and by a new act repeal your former sentence, posterity will think that you have either bestowed the supreme command on Q. Fabius, or deprived him of it, without cause.

“ BUT if you pass a more favorable sentence, CHAP. VII.
 “ your own authority, and the reputation of the Fabian family will be both safe; and as this youthful mistake was attended with some detriment to the state, it will be balanced with much greater advantages. But who dares to promise, say you, that this shall be the case? I will venture to do it, Romans; I will become surety to the state for my son; and wishing that this resolution may prove fortunate and auspicious to the senate and people of Rome as well as our own private family, I will go in the character of the consul’s lieutenant-general, and share all the fortune which he shall find ready at hand, or frame for himself. My mind is yet vigorous, my bodily strength, considering my age, is not much amiss, I can bear the toils of war, I can stand in the line of battle, where if I should do nothing else, the remembrance of the engagements I have fought long ago will strike terror into the enemy, give heart and spirit to our own troops, and, which is of the greatest consequence, I can by prudent counsels govern the consul’s youth, which is the only occasion of his miscarriages, and with the caution peculiar to men of my years temper the impetuous forwardness of his. If I were not acquainted with the disposition of my son, and confident of his readiness to submit to good advice, I would not, so near the end of a life spent without blemish, after the many consulates I have born to your and my own satisfaction, after such great victories and splendid triumphs, expose the renown I have acquired in war by so long a tract of years passed amidst toils and dangers, to the hazard of being defaced by the rashness of one inconsiderate youth.”

CHAP.

VIII.



AS this speech had weight to move all that were present, so it confirm'd them in the belief of his promise, that matters should take a more favorable turn. Wherefore being declared lieutenant-general with the greatest unanimity, and all necessities prepared with the greatest care and exactness, the consul took the field with as many expressions of the people's hopes and goodwill, as he had lately returned from it with reproaches and marks of their resentment. In his march, and afterwards in his camp, every thing was managed according to the rules of strict discipline, and with the skill and prudence of an old experienced commander. The allies, whom his father Q. Fabius had attached to him by repeated favors as well as his surprizing valor, chearfully obeyed all his orders; and even the soldiers, fond of wiping off their disgrace, and depending upon the counsels of that general, under whose command they remembered they and their fathers had often routed and put to flight the same nation they had now to deal with, were impatiently desirous of an opportunity to fight the enemy.

CHAP.

IX.



NOR were the Samnites less flush'd with their late victory, so that while the one endeavored to maintain the honor they had already gain'd, and the other to recover their loss, both armies fought with the greatest obstinacy. And now the Romans began to lose ground, and C. Pontius Herennius the enemy's general, with a detachment of selected troops, was surrounding the consul, when Fabius Maximus, observing the danger to which his son was exposed, put spurs to his horse, and drove at full speed into the closest ranks of the Samnites. He was followed by some troops of horse, who, besides their ordinary courage, were ashamed to think that so many youths in the flower of their strength and courage should be exceeded by one old man. This vigorous attack decided the fate of the whole battle; for the Roman legions, animated by the extraordinary courage of the cavalry, sustained the first charge of the enemy, and in

in a short time made them give way in spite of all the efforts of Herennius, who that day performed all that could be expected of an excellent general and a valiant soldier. But while he endeavored to replace the ranks, stop those who were running away, and oppose the furious attack of the Romans, he not only failed in his design of stopping the flight of his troops, but lost the opportunity of escaping himself. Four thousand Samnites together with their general were taken prisoners, and twenty thousand slain in the battle and pursuit. The Romans also made themselves masters of the enemy's camp with a very large booty, which was greatly encreased by the plunder of their lands that were immediately laid waste all around, and of their cities which were every where either taken or surrendered.

CHAP.

IX.



THUS the accession of one man occasioned so great an alteration in the situation of affairs, that the army which had been victorious a little before was cut to pieces by the conquered, and the consul carried prisoner the general by whom himself had been routed and put to flight, to be a most agreeable spectacle to the Roman people, and a great ornament to his own triumph which he obtained next year upon his return to the city with the general approbation of all ranks. Whilst these exploits were performed by the Fabii in Samnium, the other consul D. Brutus, who happened to have the Falisci for his province, carried on the war also with great success. For by the assistance of Sp. Carvilius, whom the senate had thought proper to assign him as his lieutenant-general, a man expert in the art of war, and well acquainted with that particular enemy, as he had defeated them during his consulate the preceding year, he plundered and laid waste a great part of the rest of Hetruria, and defeated the Falisci who ventured to give him battle.

CHAP.

X.



THESE things being reported in the city, when the time of holding the comitia came, as it did not seem to be the interest of the state that the consuls should

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XI.



be

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XI.



L. Posthumus Megellus and C. Junius Brutus consuls.

Y. of R. 461.
B. J. C. 291.

be called off from their attendance on the war, they had recourse to an interregnum. L. Posthumus Megellus being interrex was declared consul by the comitia wherein he presided himself, a practice which to that day was without precedent, except that of Appius Claudius ^a, which no good man approved. But Posthumus exercised his office with no less insolence than he had obtain'd it. For, first of all, as he was foolishly puffed up with his noble birth and a third consulate, he had for some time held C. Junius Brutus, who was his colleague that year, in great contempt, as being a plebeian and very much his inferior. But when they came to treat about their provinces, he would neither make it up with Brutus nor cast lots, but demanded “ the management of the
“ war with the Samnites by extraordinary commis-
“ sion, pretending it was his right, because, as he
“ asserted, he had during his two former consulates
“ performed great exploits against that people.” After this affair had been often disputed in the senate, Junius seeing that, as he was a person of obscure birth, he could not get justice done him in opposition to the interest and power of his colleague, at last declared “ he would of his own accord give up
“ his cause, that the misunderstanding between the
“ consuls might be of no prejudice to the interest
“ of the public.”

CHAP.

XII.



BOTH town and country were still distress'd with an inveterate infectious distemper, which had now continued for three years, and though they had tried all kinds of expedients would neither yield to divine or human means. Wherefore either by the advice of the Sibylline books or the Delphian oracle, for this is also said, ten deputies were sent to bring Æsculapius ^a from Epidau-

^a See vol. i. p. 280.

^a Æsculapius was (according to Lactantius) a native of Messene, a city of Peloponnesus. At his birth his parents exposed him in a forest, where he was found by some hunters,

who had compassion on him and had him suckled by a bitch. When he was grown up he was committed to the care of the famous Chiron, who instructed him in physic and surgery. He spent part of his life in the mountains

Epidaurus^b, which was believed to be his native city, to Rome. For though the response was very equivocal, and the fathers could not foresee what the effect of it might be, yet they resolved to obey the Gods, persuading themselves that they would shew them how their own predictions should be accomplished. Upon this followed an event surprising in it's nature, but attested by many and faithful historians, and by the temple itself, which at that time was built and dedicated in the island of the Tiber. The Epidaurians received the Roman ambassadors very courteously when they delivered their instructions; but as it was not easy to determine what should be given them to carry away, they were led into the temple of Æsculapius to see what would be most for their benefit.

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XII.

IN Greece the temples of this divinity are generally built on eminences, open to the influence of the sun. The Epidaurians likewise had, about five miles from their city, a temple of that God, which was then very famous, and excessively enriched by the donations of persons, who imagined they had recovered their health there. The Roman ambassadors being led thither, while they were admiring a statue of extraordinary magnitude, the work of

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XIII.

in the study of simples, and then settled at Epidaurus where he practised his art. He invented the probe, bandage, purges and the art of tooth-drawing. He was preceptor to Achilles. As he lived in superstitious times when it was usual to deify the inventors of any useful art, he was declared the son of Apollo and ranked among the Gods, and had a temple erected to him on an eminence near Epidaurus. In medals he is represented under the form of a serpent, or with that animal twisted round a staff, which he held in his hand, with a cock on the pedestal. The two animals pointed out the vigilance and wisdom necessary to a physician, and the staff, that physic is the support of life. The usual sacrifice offered

to him was a goat, an animal thought to be always feverish. As the pagans drew presages from the motions and cries of ravens, they consecrated this bird to him, to point out the sagacity of physicians in foreseeing and discovering the causes and symptoms of diseases.

^b There were formerly reckoned to be two cities of this name in Greece. One in Argos, which according to Sophian stood near Chersonesus: but, if we credit Niger, in the neighborhood of Pigiada. It is now called *Esculapio*, and is the same mentioned in the text. The other, now called *Malvasia* or *Malvoisie*, lay in Laconia, and was named by the Greeks Limera from the fine meadows that surrounded it.

Thrasyl-

CHAP. Thrasymedes ^a, an ingenious statuary of Paros ^b, all
XIII. of a sudden a huge serpent, coming out of the inmost parts of the temple, struck the minds of all the spectators with astonishment and religious awe. For the priests, with an air of devotion, cried out, “ that “ the Divinity himself resided in that animal, and “ sometimes appeared under that shape, which was “ always a good omen.” The serpent was seen for two days in the temple, and then hid itself again. On the third it passed through a crowd of adoring spectators straight to the haven where the Roman galley lay, and going on board, placed itself, folded in several circles, in the cabin of Q. Ogulnius, chief of the embassy. There goes an ancient fable, “ that “ the same Æsculapius, veiled under the form of a “ serpent, had been once carried from Epidaurus “ to Sicyon ^c, in a chariot drawn by mules, which “ were guided by one Nicagora, wife of Echetimus.”

CHAP. UPON this the Romans, elated with the pro-
XIV. digy, and believing they carried the Divinity himself with them, set sail, and steered their course for Antium, where they arrived after a very prosperous voyage. But while they were detained there by a storm, the serpent, which had continued very quiet during all the passage, crawled out of the vessel, and went into the most famous temple of that city, where it continued for three whole days. The ambassadors were greatly alarmed, lest they should not be able to make it leave that place, because during the whole time it had not come back to it's usual meals ; but

^a Pausanias affirms, that Thrasymedes was one of the most famous statuaries of his age. His masterpiece was an Æsculapius of gold and ivory seated on a throne, to denote his sovereign power over all diseases. In one hand he held a staff, in the other a dragon, and by his side stood a dog, in allusion to the fable of his being suckled by a bitch, or because dogs cleanse wounds by licking them. The golden beard of this statue was seized by the tyrant Dionysius, under pretext of it's being unnatural to re-

present the son of Apollo with a beard and himself as a beardless youth.

^b One of the Cyclades islands in the Ægean sea, and famous for a bright sort of marble.

^c A city of Peloponnesus and famous for olives. It's inhabitants erected in the porch of Æsculapius temple a statue of that God, partly of gold and partly of ivory, made by the statuary Calamis, who excelled cutting horses, and is called by Ov *Calais*.


at length it returned on board and they brought him with great joy to Rome. The whole citizens came out in crowds to behold this incredible sight; altars were erected along the banks of the river, wherever the galley passed, incense burnt and victims sacrificed. When the ship arrived at the place, where the Tiber dividing forms an island, the serpent left it, and swimming to that isle, which was afterwards called Æsculapius's, was never after seen by any man. The fathers, concluding this to be the habitation which the God chose for himself, ordered "a temple to be built to Æsculapius in that place^a." The distempers, whether by this remedy, or that otherwise they were to do so, ceased. And the temple soon became very famous for the rich donations made to it, and persons publishing abroad the saving cures they said they had received from the Deity.


CHAP.
XIV.

THE consul, L. Posthumius, carried with him into his province the same haughtiness, which he had shewn towards his colleague in the city. For though Q. Fabius Gurges, who had been consul the preceding year, was acting in Samnium, in quality of proconsul, by a commission from the senate, Posthumius wrote him a saucy letter, ordering him "to be gone out of his province, for he was able by himself to manage that war." In reply Fabius pleaded "the orders of the fathers, and that it was not safe for him to quit a charge wherewith the senate had entrusted him." When this news reached Rome, it was feared, that the misunderstanding between the generals might prove detrimental to the state. Wherefore it was thought proper, "to send deputies to the consul, to require him in name of the senate, to let Fabius remain with the army and in Samnium." As it is said his answer was otherwise impertinent and obstinate, it moreover contained one expression, which was a sin-

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XV.

^a Some of the ruins of this temple were to be seen in the xvth century, near the church of St. Bartholomew.

CHAP. XV.  gular proof of his being excessively insolent, “that
 “as long as he was consul, it was not his duty to
 “obey the senate, but the senate’s to obey their con-
 “sul.” And that he might not seem to act less
 insolently than he spoke, after dismissing the depu-
 ties, he marched with his army immediately towards
 the city of Cominium, which Fabius at that time be-
 sieged, fully determined to give his rival battle, in case
 he could not by other means prevail on him to retire.
 The Roman armies would have exhibited a shameful
 spectacle to the enemy, if Fabius had inclined to stand
 out in the same extravagant manner as he was ready to
 be attacked. But being naturally milder than Post-
 humius, and rendered so by the advice of his father,
 after protesting “that he yielded not to the phrenzy
 “of the consul, but for the benefit of the state,” he
 quitted the province. A few days after Posthumius
 took Cominium. From thence he marched to Ve-
 nusia, and having likewise taken it, he carried the
 war round to other adjacent towns and reduced sever-
 al of them, part by storm, and part by capitulation.
 In this expedition the enemy had ten thousand men
 killed and six thousand laid down their arms and
 surrendered to the conqueror.

CHAP. XVI.  THE consul’s conquests in the war were certain-
 ly very important, but he sullied their lustre by his
 pride and obstinacy. Therefore when he wrote to
 the fathers concerning them, and “pointed out the
 “city and lands of Venusia as very proper places for
 “settling a colony;” they agreed to his propo-
 sal, but, without having any regard to the author
 of the victory and advice, the colony were led thi-
 ther by other commissioners. I find it related by
 no contemptible historians, that twenty thousand men
 were sent there, a great and almost incredible num-
 ber, if it did not seem reasonable to believe, that
 they were resolved to settle a very considerable body
 of men among the nations not yet subjected, to serve
 as a garison against the Apulians and Lucanians.
 But as Posthumius’s earnest solicitations for a triumph,
 added

added to his former insolence, rendered him universally odious ; so it contributed very much to gain Fabius a general esteem : for when he returned to the city, and gave an account of his conquests, a triumph was willingly granted to him. He triumphed in quality of proconsul, over the Samnites, who are surnamed Pentri, on the first of August. Old Fabius followed his chariot on horseback, and received the applauses and acclamations of the spectators and those who followed in the consul's train, not more as an assistant in obtaining than real author of the victory.

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XVI.

BUT that worthy old man, earnestly desiring to derive the whole glory of the success to the consul of the Roman people, as he used only the title of lieutenant general, so behaved with the modesty suitable to that character, and beheld the honors conferred on his son with no less delight, than that wherewith he had carried him when a child in his chariot, at his own triumph. The consul gave half the spoil to his troops, and delivered the remainder into the public treasury. C. Pontius, general of the Samnites, who was led in triumph, was immediately beheaded. He was a brave and worthy man, who had long made head against the power of Rome at that time, and given them many considerable overthrows, but in particular stamp'd the highest mark of disgrace upon them at the pass of Caudium. It is farther related of him, that he was used to say, " if he had been born in times when
" the Roman people had learned to accept bribes,
" he would have put an end to their empire." A clear testimony that the Roman state at that time supported it's grandeur by the purity of her morals, rather than the cultivation of arms.

CHAP.

XVII.

IN the mean time L. Posthumius, no less enraged that honors had been conferred on his rival, than that they had been refused to himself, by thwarting, through the outrageousness of his temper, the authority of the senate, both put it out of his power to
heal

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heal the wounds he had received from them, and also farther augmented their resentment, which he ought to have mollified by speaking and acting with the greatest modesty and submission. For he not only complained of his enemies, and reviled both orders of the state, but to mortify the senate distributed all the booty amongst his troops, and disbanded the army before it was possible to send him a successor. And his triumphing contrary to the will of the senate, though related under his second consulate, I am rather of opinion ought to be placed here; wherein I am supported by historians, noted for accuracy and fidelity, who mention it in this part of their histories. This behavior of his raised a new storm of envy against him, and as soon as he quitted his magistracy, two tribunes of the people arrested him and fixed the day of his trial before the people. Besides the crimes we have already mentioned he was indicted “for having sent, before he marched out of
“the city in his warlike habiliments, two thousand
“soldiers, chosen out of the legions, into his own
“lands to grub up a forest; and had detained them
“at that labor for many days, forgetting they were
“soldiers, not his slaves, and given him, not to improve his lands, but to extend the Roman domain
“by conquests.” His prosecution for these crimes being carried on with the utmost rigor, after having in vain attempted to make his defence he was condemned by the suffrages of all the tribes and fined in two hundred thousand sesterces^a.

CHAP.

XIX.



P. Cornel.
Rufinus and
M. Curius
Dentatus
consuls.

Y. of R. 462.
B. J. C. 290.

BY this time the new consuls, P. Cornelius Rufinus and M. Curius Dentatus, had entered into office. Each of them with their distinct legions laid waste the lands and destroyed the cities of Samnium in a terrible manner; and by making great slaughtere of the people, who were so bold as to engage them in several places, forced them to sue for peace and an alliance by treaty. For whereas they had in many battles lost the greatest part of their youth

^a 1665 l. 11 s. 8 d.

and in C. Pontius been deprived both of an able counsellor and commander, they sent deputies to the consuls, and by their permission to Rome, and prevailed to have the league with them renewed a fourth time. I am also of opinion that the Romans were tired with their conquest, and desirous at length to exchange a dangerous war, which had often involved them in great difficulties, for the tranquillity of an established peace. I find that the war against the Samnites was first begun in the third consulship of M. Valerius, whose colleague was A. Cornelius Cossus, and continuing, with alternate fortune, for fifty-four successive consulates, excepting some short intervals of peace, kept both people constantly employed and upon the rack.

IT is uncertain whether Cornelius obtained a triumph on account of this war; but there is not the least doubt that this honor was granted to Manius, whose success was the more remarkable, because, having reduced other enemies besides, he triumphed twice during the same consulship. For the Sabines, a powerful nation, and then very wealthy by their having long enjoy'd peace, either excited by the solicitations of the Samnites, and moved with compassion for that people who were their neighbors; or intending to put a stop to a war, which like a conflagration would after the conquest of the bordering nations reach themselves, armed their youth and invaded several places subject to the Roman state. Curius marched his army against them, and in order to divide their force, and at the same time make the lands of the Sabines feel the calamities of war, detached half of his troops by secret ways, with orders, "to spread terror and desolation as far in their country as possible." This necessarily obliging their forces to march different ways, each to defend their own lands, the strength of the formidable Sabine army was thereby quite broke, and the consul enabled with ease to defeat a people thus divided.

CHAP.

XXI.



IN this expedition the Roman arms penetrated as far as the Adriatic sea, and took such a vast tract of land and number of men, as gave Curius occasion to use an expression which afterwards was much celebrated. For as he, who, agreeable to the manner of those days, was readier with his hands than his tongue, wanted words to give a particular detail of all his exploits, he made this short speech, “ I have taken so
“ large a tract of land, as must hereafter have lain
“ waste, if I had not also taken so great a number
“ of men; and I have taken such a multitude of
“ men, as must have famished, had I not conquered
“ so much land.” When the Sabines sued for peace, in remembrance of the ancient alliance between them and the Romans under Tatius, and because they had not carried on the war with great inveteracy, they had the freedom of Rome granted them, but without the right of suffrage. We have but an imperfect account of the next consulate, which was that of Val. Corvinus and Q. Cæditius Noctua; only during it I find colonies were sent to Castrum, Adria, from whence the Adriatic sea took it’s name, and to Sena in that part of Italy possessed by the Gauls. But as these parts of the country were not at that time reduced into subjection, I chuse rather to adhere to those authors, who refer the first settlement of these colonies, to later times.

M. Val. Cor-
vinus and Q.
Cæd. Noctua
consuls.

Y. of R. 463.
B. J. C. 289.

CHAP.

XXII.



A NEW magistracy was this year instituted in Rome, for the suppression of villainy, which was become very frequent there. Those vested with it were called triumviri capitales, had the care of detaining criminals in prison; and when there was a necessity for punishing them, had the direction of and inflicted the punishment. I find the law, which L. Papirius tribune of the people passed for that purpose, conceived in the following terms: “ Let every prætor,
“ who shall hereafter be elected, and administer
“ justice in the city, bring in a bill to the people
“ for the creation of triumviri capitales. And let
“ whoever are chosen triumviri, impose fines and
“ pass

“ pass sentence on criminals, and let their decrees
“ have the same force, and be as obligatory, as theirs
“ who are impowered to fine and pass sentence by
“ laws enacted by the people.” By this law it would
appear, that they were likewise vested with the
power of imposing fines for capital crimes ; for the
money, exacted under the name of punishment, used
in these times to be called *sacramentum*, because, on
account of the multitude of public sacrifices, and the
poverty of the treasury, it was customary to allot it
for defraying the expence of them. We have no
other account of the census held this year, than that
the number of citizens enrolled amounted to two
hundred seventy-three thousand. It is a conjecture
well founded, that Q. Fabius Maximus was likewise
chosen prince of the senate by these censors, and is
confirmed by another circumstance, that that honor
was successively continued to three of that family ;
for this Maximus, having received it from his father
Ambustus, transmitted it directly to his son Gurgus.

IN the mean time while their arms prospered abroad,
the city was rent by terrible discords and seditions
at home. The commons, oppressed with debt, de-
manded a new act to discharge them from it, which
was an ancient custom, and variously practised for up-
wards of the space of two hundred years, according
as some turbulent tribunes made a handle of it to in-
cense the multitude, or the exactions of usurers enflam-
ed them with indignation. Fear of plagues and ene-
mies had abated these animosities in the city, under
some of the preceding consuls ; but in the consulate of
Q. Marcius Tremulus, and P. Cornelius Arvina ; and
then in the next year, during the administration of
M. Claud. Marcellus and C. Nautius Rutilus, these
disturbances rose to a much greater height. As I
find in ancient marbles that Appius Claudius, after-
wards surnamed Cæcus, was raised to the dictator-
ship, I am of opinion he was nominated to that of-
fice to suppress these commotions, rather than on ac-
count of any other business or war.

Q. Marc.
Tremulus
and P. Corn.
Arvina
consuls.
Y. of R. 464.
B. J. C. 258.
M. Cl. Mar-
cellus and
C. Nautius
Rutilus
consuls.
Y. of R. 465.
B. J. C. 257.
Ap. Claudius
dictator.

CHAP.
XXIV.

IN fact, besides the cruel exactions of the usurers, the brutal lust of C. Plotius added fuel to the already incensed minds of the people, and was the cause of their resentment's bursting out into a more sudden and violent flame than it would otherwise have done. T. Veturius, son of the consul Veturius, who had been delivered up to the people for the infamous treaty he had made with the Samnites, having been obliged, by the misfortunes of his family, to run greatly in debt, and not being able to pay it, voluntarily surrendered himself to servitude, and patiently underwent all kinds of drudgery. But Plotius not satisfied with having reduced this beautiful youth from the vast hopes of a consular family to the very dregs of the meanest condition, attempted also to wrest his honor from one, whose whole estate and liberty he had already seized. After that, when Veturius refused to comply with his solicitations, and was resolved to suffer any punishment rather than submit to so brutal an action, he mangled him with rods in the most inhuman manner. The youth escaping into the forum, and being brought by the multitude, who flocked round him, to the consul's tribunal, complained "of the insufferable cruelty and lust of his creditor." The prints and marks of the stripes he had lately received were still visible. Upon which the consuls, looking upon it as a matter not to be passed over in silence, laid it before the senate; who sentenced Plotius to be imprisoned, and a law made for the purpose was passed, whereby all those who were detained in servitude for debt, through the whole city, were set at liberty.

CHAP.
XXV.

I AM not ignorant that in place of Veturius some historians substitute one Publilius son of a tribune, who was one of those who made the peace at Caudio; and also that it is said, that forty years before a law was past for the release of those who were in custody for debt on an occasion very like the present. But notwithstanding this, might not many usurers be guilty of the same exactions, and a former


mer law, as usually happens, be also by degrees neglected through the patience of the debtors, whose pinching circumstances would make them submit to any thing, till a fresh act of the same villainous nature put them in mind of making more full and careful provision for that affair for the future? Though the law and revenge pleased the people, yet being desirous to be not only released from being taken into custody for debt, but also from the severity of usury at all, they were not satisfied. But as in certain acute diseases the use of remedies, while it seems to mitigate, rather violently increases the pain; not long after the matter rose to such a pitch of violence, that when the tribunes of the people used their utmost endeavors to get the new act for release of insolvent debtors passed into a law, and the creditors opposed it with no less interest and resolution, the commons, after the example of their ancestors, left the city, and made a secession to mount Janiculus on the other side of the river, obstinately resolved not to return home, unless they gained their point.


AS the consuls, who are conjectured to have been M. Valerius Potitus and C. Ælius Pætus, were capable of giving little help in this case, recourse was had to their last resource in extremities, the nomination of a dictator. Q. Hortensius was the person appointed. Having applied all the lenitives which the time and case required, when he understood that the principal obstacle to restoring the public tranquillity was the people's being exasperated at the contempt of their ordinances and the Publilian law^a, notwithstanding the opposition of many, he thought it best to yield to the times, and passed a new law in the Esquletum^b, which he farther confirmed by this sanction, "that the ordinances of the people should be binding upon all the members of the Roman state." Having by these and other mild concessions brought back the commons to their houses and reconciled them with the other order, the dic-


M. Val.
Potitus and
C. Æl. Pæ-
tus consuls.
Y. of R. 466.
B. J. C. 286.
Q. Horten-
sius dictator.

^a See vol. ii. book viii. chap. xxviii. p. 350.

^b A grove of beeches.

CHAP. XXVI.  tator, whether suddenly seized by a violent distemper, or oppressed by the trouble and fatigue he had undergone, died during his office, which had never happened to any one before. From this time the contests between the two orders in the city were somewhat abated, but the authority of the state suffered extremely by degrees; for the commons, either unable to guard against the intrigues of ambitious men, or for the sake of exercising their power, received any kind of bills without any scruple, passed many ordinances which wounded the wisdom of the government, and at last sap'd its foundation. This ought to be a warning to all governors, not to suffer the populace, who, if they can but enjoy a competent estate, will never think of more important affairs, to be forced by the oppression of the wealthy, to aspire at a power, which they know not how to manage with discretion.

CHAP. XXVII.  I BELIEVE, that at this time also a law was passed concerning the suffrages, whereby the fathers were forced previously to the peoples voting to ratify whatever they should enact. For hitherto they had enjoyed a right, whereby no man chosen by suffrages of the people, could exercise any office, till the fathers first confirmed the election. The extravagant attempts of the people were sometimes controled by this tie; and though the fathers rarely checked the comitia, yet because they had a right to do it, the people were afraid they would. But at that time the tribune Mænius got the law in question passed, which certainly very much augmented the power of the people, but at the same time weakened the exact justice observed in the comitia, which derived both great advantage and honor to the state.

CHAP. XXVIII.  SOME authors say that after the death of Hortensius the dictator, another was nominated for the administration of the republic. It was Q. Fabius Maximus, whose third dictatorship it was. It is said that L. Volumnius Flamma Violens, the son of Caius, and grandson of one of the same name, was his

Q. Fab. Max.
dictator,
L. Vol. Fla.
Violens ge-
neral of
horse.

his general of horse. At that time the Romans had war with the Volfinienses, a people of Hetruria. It broke out very opportunely to purge the state of innovators, and stifle the great remains of former dissensions. War also broke out on a new score with the Lucanians, who were dangerous neighbors, and by repeated injuries had obliged the inhabitants of Thurii^a, a city in that part of Italy, where lies the great Greece, to put themselves under the protection of the Romans. At the motion of C. Ælius, tribune of the people, the commons decreed to make war against them. In consequence of this the armies took the field, and fought several battles, the accounts whereof, together with the annals of those authors who wrote them, are lost. The Thurini presented C. Ælius with a statue and crown of gold. Then followed the consulship of C. Claudius Canina and M. Æmilius Lepidus, during which we find no memorable event recorded, except that the Hetrurian and Lucanian wars seem then to have been prosecuted. We likewise find that Manius Curius entered the city in an ovation over the Lucanians, which is to be reckoned among the four triumphs, which I find attributed to him: but as to what year, or vested with what office or command he performed these exploits, we are quite in the dark.

C. Claud.
Canina, M.
Æmil. Lepidus con-
suls.
Y. of R. 467.
B. J. C. 285.

A MORE important war, remarkable for a considerable defeat, broke out with the Senones^a, a people of Gaul. They had often had war and often peace with the Romans; and at this time had continued quiet for almost ten years, ever since the defeat they received in the country of Sentinum, when a great number of them were killed by Decius devoting himself, except that they had suffered their youth to enter into the Hetrurian pay, to serve against the Romans. But now they marched with a more formidable army, than they used to have for several years past, into Hetruria, and laid siege to Aretium.

^a Built out of the ruins of, and situated very near the ancient *Sybaris*.

^a Vol. ii. book v. chap. 35. p. 112.
n. m.

CHAP. XXIX. The Aretini had formerly desired to form an alliance with the Romans, and though that request was denied, they had obtained a truce which was not yet expired. But they had the greater hopes of having aid sent them at this time, because they were sensible, that the Gauls never had recourse to arms, but the Romans thought themselves nearly concerned to watch their motions. Wherefore they sent ambassadors to Rome, humbly begging assistance against this common enemy. In the mean time begun the year wherein C. Servilius Tucca and L. Cæcilius Metellus were consuls. Some annals have Cœlius instead of Cæcilius ; but the family of the Cœlii, being of meaner quality, is not supposed to have had any consul in it till six hundred and sixty years from the foundation of the city.

C. Servil.
Tucca and
L. Cæcil.
Metellus
consuls.
Y. of R. 468.
B. J. C. 284.

End of the ELEVENTH BOOK.



JOHN FREINSHEIM'S
SUPPLEMENT
TO THE
ROMAN HISTORY

BY

TITUS LIVIUS of *Padua*.

DECADE II. BOOK XII.

The Roman ambassadors killed by the Senones a people of Gaul, and war on that account declared against them, wherein the prætor L. Cæcilius with his legions is cut to pieces. The Tarentines destroy the Roman fleet, kill the duumvir, who was admiral of it, and abuse the ambassadors sent to them by the senate to complain of these injuries. Wherefore war is declared against them. The Samnites revolt; against whom, together with the Lucani, Bruttii and Hetrurians several successful battles are fought under the command of different Roman generals. Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, comes into Italy to aid the Tarentines. A legion of Campanians sent, under command of a legionary præfect, Decius Jubellius, to garison Regium, massacre the natural inhabitants, and seize on the city.

IN the consulate of P. Cornelius Dolabella and CHAP.
Cn. Domitius Calvinus, when the war with the I.
Gauls broke out afresh, and it was reported that
many Hetrurians had taken arms with the Se-
nones, the fathers thought that the danger the
Aretini were in, was a matter not to be neglected.
But as Dolabella could neither be recalled out of the
country of the Volsinienfes, nor Domitius out of
Lucania,

P. Corn.
Dolabella
and Cn. Do-
mitius Cal-
vinus con-
suls.
Y. of R. 469.
B. J. C. 283.

CHAP. I. Lucania, without great detriment to the wars they were engaged in; the senate commanded “L. Cæcilius Metellus, who had been consul the former year, but was then prætor, to raise an army as soon as possible and raise the siege of Aretium^a.” And to prevent the imputation of having undertaken this war rashly, they resolved to send ambassadors beforehand to represent to the Senones, “that Aretium was under the protection of the Romans; and the Gauls, being engaged in a treaty with the Roman people, would certainly act with more justice if they did not suffer their youth to fight against the friends and allies of Rome.” As these ambassadors were going about to the towns of the Senones, one Britomaris a hot young prince of the royal family, whose father assisting the Hetrurians had been killed by the Romans, prompted by a passionate desire of revenge, seized them, and not only cut in pieces their bodies, but even the ensigns of their inviolable dignity, and scattered both about the country.

CHAP. II. WHEN the news of this barbarous usage was brought to Rome, and from thence to Dolabella's camp, it inspired the Romans with a kind of fury, and war was declared against the Senones. Dolabella immediately laid aside the war with the Hetrurians, and, by long marches through the territories of Sabinum and Picenum, advanced with his army to the frontiers of the Senones, who, on this sudden approach of the enemy, and absence of the best of their troops, met him with a small and undisciplined army, and were easily routed. The consul, without giving them time to deliberate, set their villages on fire, destroyed all their houses, ravaged their whole lands, and at last, after putting to the sword all of an age fit to bear arms, carried off a great number of helpless women and children, and left the country as much a desert as possible. Bri-

^a It stood between Perusium and Florence near the Apennines and Arno, and is now called *Arezzo*.

tomaris was taken prisoner, and after undergoing many different kinds of tortures, was reserved to adorn the consul's triumph. At the same time the fortune of the Roman arms was very different before the city of Aretium, where the prætor L. Cæcilius gave the Senones and Hetrurians battle, with bad success. For seven legionary tribunes, and many brave officers, together with the prætor himself were killed on the spot. And about thirteen thousand men, less or more, of the legions and auxiliaries were lost in the action.

CHAP.
II.
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BUT the grief and consternation wherewith the Gauls were seized, when they got intelligence of the ruin of their own country, greatly damped their joy on account of this victory. Wherefore as they had no habitations to retire to, they in a transport of rage, grief, phrenzy, and despair, as if hurried on by some ill destiny to their destruction, assembled all the troops they had dispersed over Hetruria, and rashly resolved to march directly to Rome. " They could not otherwise, said they, quit scores with those who had laid waste their country, than by forcing them to behold their own city under a like calamity. Besides they were to march from Aretium to Rome with no less force and courage, but on much more galling provocation, than their ancestors, who marching from Clusium, a town of the same Hetruria, had seized this very city of Rome." By these speeches they provoked one another, and being naturally impatient of delay, besides at that time making more expedition on purpose to surprise their enemy in security, they set out in a furious hurry. But having an enemy's country to march through, they met with many obstacles in their way; and Rome had time to provide against this storm.

CHAP.
III.
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BEING thus detained, as they were ranging, without any certain rout, through strange and dangerous places all the way, they fell in with the consul Domitius, and immediately gave him battle. But their

ungo-

CHAP.
IV.
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CHAP. ungoverned fury proved ineffectual when opposed by
 IV. the prudent conduct and exact discipline of this cool
 commander; for having lost many of their men in the action, the remainder, in a transport of fury and despair, turned upon their own bodies those swords, which they had in vain drawn against their enemies. Thus was the horrid crime of murdering ambassadors speedily and severely avenged on a people, who a little before had been very flourishing; nay, within the space of a few months, they were so totally extirpated, that they ceased to have a name among the nations whose sacred rights they had violated; and the few remains of the Senones, who had taken refuge with the Boii^a, their neighbors and countrymen, were, this same year, cut to pieces by the consul Dolabella. For the Boii and Hetrurians, being stirred up by the bloody slaughter of their countrymen, and fearing the same fate for themselves, assembled together, and at the lake called Vadimonis^b, gave Dolabella battle, wherein many Hetrurians were slain, very few of the Boii escaped, and the whole race of Senones was quite cut off, so that it is believed there did not survive a single person of that nation, which had burnt the city of Rome.

CHAP. IT seems most probable that the colony was settled
 V. at Sena, at this time, when the Senones in that part of

^a See vol. ii. book v. ch. 35. p. 112. note h.

^b It is now called *Lago di Bassano*, from the name of a neighboring city, which is supposed to be the ancient *Ameria* or *Amelia*. According to Pliny it has no angle, but in figure resembles a wheel. It's waters are of a deep bluish color, tinged with white and green, have a sulphureous smell and mineral taste, and are used with success in the cure of fractures. Though it is of small extent, yet it's waters are very rough in high winds. It abounds with floating islands of different figures and sizes, which produce grass, and other weeds which commonly grow in marshy and fenny grounds. Their sides are very dry and naked by striking against one another:

their bottoms resemble the keel of a ship, and the small ones at some times follow the large ones, as if fastened to them like ships boats by a penter. The wind disperses them in various manners, and sometimes they unite like a solid continent at the sides of the lake, inso-much that the cattle come on them for pasture. At particular times one would imagine the small and large ones quarrel together, they beat so against one another. Which ever way they steer their course, they generally drive the waters of the lake before them, and it never returns to it's just level, till they all come to the middle. The lake discharges itself into a river, which soon falls into a great abyss.

Italy were utterly exterminated, and the Romans became CHAP. masters of their whole country. Nevertheless, early v. next year the Hetrurians and Boii, having reinforced their army with such of their youth as were fit to bear arms, had the boldness to try their fortune in a second battle. I believe they were then likewise defeated by Q. Æmilius Papus, for he and C. Fabricius for the first time happened to be consuls this year, and it is certain that the province of Hetruria fell by lot to Papus. Yet in most annals now extant, the account of these transactions is quite obliterated, to give room for affairs of greater importance. For as the Romans by continual wars and conquests daily increased in valor and domain, such of the states of Italy, as were yet independent, alarmed at these accessions, and uniting all their strength and policy in order to suppress these common enemies and robbers, raised a most bloody and dangerous war against Rome. Nor was it thought proper to delay taking up arms till the remains of the Hetrurians and Boii should be strong enough to make a diversion on the side of the Romans.

Q. Æmil.
Papus, and
C. Fabricius,
consuls,
Y. of R. 470.
B. J. C. 282.

FIRST of all, therefore, the Samnites, having CHAP. broken the truce, and openly entered into a confederacy with the Lucanians and Bruttians, began the war. VI. But the consul C. Fabricius defeated them in several battles, the most remarkable of which was that fought with Statius Statilius, when he was besieging Thurii a second time; for in it the enemy was routed with great slaughter, and their camp assaulted and taken. The tradition is, that while they bravely defended their lines, the Romans, encouraged by a certain youth of huge size bringing the scaling ladders, gained a complete victory. It is said that twenty thousand of the enemy were slain in the field and camp, and five thousand, with their general and twenty military ensigns, taken prisoners. Next day, when the consul would have rewarded those who had signalized themselves in the action, and declared “ he “ would give him, who first got over the enemy’s lines, “ the

CHAP. VI. “the corona vallaris;” though diligent search was made for him he could not be found, whereas had he been a foldier, he would of his own accord have appeared and claimed this honor. And hence it was commonly believed, “that Mars himself had done them this piece of service, and that the victory was owing to him.” Wherefore the consul appointed a solemn procession in honor of that God, and the foldiers, crowned with laurel, celebrated it with great rejoicings.

CHAP. VII. HITHERTO the Tarentines had not openly assisted the nations confederate against Rome; for though they were the principal authors of that confederacy, yet they looked on it as the wisest course, to keep themselves out of danger, and rather leave others to harass the Roman armies at their own peril, than run the first risk of the war. But the mask was soon taken off; for by an accident, which provoked the rash and giddy multitude, the secret designs of their state were discovered. The people on that part of the coast of Italy were at that time, after the manner of the Greeks, who built Tarentum and most of the other towns thereabouts, diverting themselves in an immoderate manner with shews and stage plays; and in particular the Tarentines, who abandon themselves so much to luxury, and whose morals are said to be so bad, that they have a greater number of feasts and games than there are days in the year. It happened that they were assembled to see the games in the great theatre which stood hard by the harbor, when L. Valerius (or according to others Cornelius) a duumvir, who commanded the Roman fleet, appeared before it with ten vessels, intending to come in. This occasioned an error fatal to both sides. For as the Romans, mistrusting nothing, drew towards the shore as to an ally’s country and place of friendly reception; the Tarentines, grown frantic through a consciousness of their guilt, imagined this fleet to be sent with hostile views and intentions. There was then present one Philocharis, to whom,

on account of his debauched life, his fellow citizens gave the surname of *Thais*^a. He, mentioning some ancient treaties, whereby, he insisted, the Romans were prohibited from sailing beyond the cape *Lacinus*^b, commanded his countrymen “to oppose those “foolishly rash barbarians, and correct their insolence “with a vengeance.” The rash multitude, whose heads were disordered by continual drunkenness, set up a shout of applause. The advice, which this debauchee had given in an affair of so great importance, was agreed to by all, and without delay they run to arms and on board their ships. Upon which the Romans, who were prepared for nothing less than for a battle, fled. But the Tarentines chased them so swiftly, that only five vessels escaped. An equal number, surrounded by a superior force, were obliged to put back to the harbor, where four of them, with their admiral, were sunk, and one taken. All the men of an age and strength fit for service in war, were put to death, and the rest of the crew were sold for slaves.

CHAP.
VII.

IN the same levity of mind they turned their arms against the *Thurini*, accusing them “of being “the occasion of the Romans having come into that “part of the country; and though Greeks by origin, they had, in their distress, chose to call in to “their aid a barbarous nation, rather than the Tarentines, to whom they were allied by the proximity of blood and country.” Hereupon, having taken *Thurii*, they plundered it, banished the principal men, and dismissed the Roman garison who capitulated for their lives. When accounts of this was brought to Rome, the indignation of the state was proportioned to the greatness of the injury; yet it was not thought proper to draw on a new war.

CHAP.
VIII.

^a *Thais* was a famed courtesan of Alexandria, who came to Athens, and debauched all the youth there. She was called *Menandrian Thais*, from the poet *Menander*'s celebrating her praises in verse.

^b It is now called *Capo delle Colone*, and lay in the extremity of the gulph of Tarentum, which reaches from it, according to Pliny, to the present *Capo della chimera*.

Wherefore



Wherefore they decreed to send an embassy to complain of the wrong. The ambassadors were instructed to demand “ the restoration of the captives, “ and restitution, to the Thurini, of what had “ been taken from them, or an equivalent according to a just estimate ; that the exiles should be “ recalled, and the authors of all these injuries delivered up to the Roman people.” The Tarentines, after the custom of the Grecian cities, used to hold the assemblies of their people in the theatre, into which the ambassadors with difficulty getting admittance, found the multitude carousing and making merry, for they were then keeping holiday. Here as soon as L. Posthumius, chief of the embassy, began to speak, he was received with derision by the impertinent rabble, and carried back to Rome much juster provocation to resentment than those which he had brought thence in his instructions. For they treated him with so much contempt, that none vouchsafed the hearing to the rest of his speech ; but as often as an expression, that was not pure greek, slipped from him, which would readily happen to a foreigner, the whole assembly burst out into laughter, and sneeringly reproached him with the title of barbarian. They likewise ridiculed the habit of the ambassadors, who were dressed in their gowns ; and in fine turned them out of the theatre, while they in vain appealed to the law of nations. After this is related a deed too base to be mentioned, but that it may serve as an example for restraining the insolent fury of a mob. As the ambassadors were retiring through a great crowd of the Tarentines, who stood in the entry to the theatre, a certain buffoon, named Philonides (for this state deserves, on account of her depraved morals, to have the names of her buffoons recorded in annals, while those of her principal citizens are not known) like an impudent dog, urined upon their sacred robes. This might have passed for the fault of one dirty mad rascal, had not their whole drunken members of their state approved of it

and all the theatre echoed with the laughter and acclamations of the people applauding this abominable action. Then Posthumius said, “thou buffoon, we accept of this as a good omen, since you give us what we did not ask.” Then turning to the crowd, and shewing the ignominious stains in his robe, when he saw them renewing their sneers, nay even ridiculing the Roman people in lampoons and antic dances, he cried out, “laugh on, laugh on, Tarentines, while you may, for hereafter you shall shed floods of tears.” As this enraged them, he further said, “in order to vex you the more, I tell you beforehand, that this robe shall be washed clean in streams of your blood.” Upon this they departed without any other answer.

BY this time the new consuls, L. Æmilius Barbula and Q. Marcius Philippus had entered upon their office at Rome. They having assembled the senate, as soon as the fathers saw the robe (for the ambassadors had brought it stained as it was) and heard them repeat in order the other accumulated affronts, their minds were all more exasperated than usual, nor did they hesitate one moment to declare, that they were bound to revenge such contemptuous usage, by arms. But as their forces were employed in many other expeditions against very powerful nations, they were somewhat at a loss to determine whether they should presently send an army against the Tarentines, or delay it a little longer. And for many days the affair was debated in senate from dawn to sun-set, whilst some strenuously insisted “that nothing ought to be undertaken till the other states, at least those bordering on Tarentum, should be subdued;” and others “that war ought to be declared without delay.” At last the senate, having divided upon it, came to a resolution, “to refer the declaration of war with the Tarentines to the determination of the people.” When the commons had unanimously agreed to it, letters were written to the consul Æmilius, who had already set out for the army

L. Æmilius
Barbula and
Q. Marcius
Philippus
consuls,
Y. of R. 471.
B. J. C. 281.

in Samnium, “to postpone the business he was then
 “engaged in, and go and encamp in the dominions
 “of the Tarentines, and if they did not give
 “satisfaction for the injuries they had done, imme-
 “diately to attack them in a just and pious war.”

CHAP.
 X.



THEN the Tarentines perceiving they had not
 longer to do with a few unarmed men, but with a re-
 gular army, awaking as it were out of a long fit of
 drunkenness, now seriously set about deliberating
 what measures they had best to take. It seemed dan-
 gerous to determine upon war, and mean to submit
 to giving the satisfaction demanded, yet one of the
 two they could not avoid. While they thus waver-
 ed in their opinions, one of the assembly rose and
 spoke to this effect, “Tarentines, why do we waste
 “time in debate? The season which requires actions,
 “not words, is now come; but for doing any thing
 “for the advantage of the state, we want both
 “wholesome counsel and freedom of speech. Nor
 “indeed am I surprized, that agreeable to a dis-
 “temper common to all free states, you have for-
 “merly been delighted with speeches purposely
 “framed to flatter you, although they often did
 “you real prejudice. For then, as commonly hap-
 “pens in time of prosperity, you little minded what
 “would promote the greatest good of the republick.
 “But now the Roman army is in our territories, and
 “a very formidable enemy even before our gates.
 “This will effectually teach you to prefer your inte-
 “rest to your pleasures.

CHAP.
 XI.



“BUT do not mistake me so far as to imagine, that
 “I stood up to upbraid you with your past conduct.
 “No! for none but malicious spirits and such as in-
 “vidiously insult over others for their mistakes
 “would unseasonably charge persons with former
 “faults; whereas honest men and such as are zeal-
 “ous for the public welfare, chuse either to cove-
 “or excuse the miscarriages of a state, excepting in
 “cases where the riping up of past offences con-
 “tributes very much to the averting a publick ca-

“lamity

“ lamity. For to desire to be esteemed free from all
 “ fault, while we are frail men, is an extravagant
 “ pitch of arrogance; as often to stumble against
 “ the same stone, and not to learn caution, even
 “ when the event chastises our rashness, is even
 “ far beneath the character of a man. Upon
 “ the speech of one man we sunk the Roman ships;
 “ immediately after we in an hostile manner ha-
 “ rassed our countrymen the Thurini, because they
 “ chose rather to put themselves under the protection
 “ of the Romans, than to be destroyed by the Lu-
 “ canians and Bruttians; and we suffered their em-
 “ bassadors to be affronted in a manner too shameful
 “ and base to be mentioned. By all which we have
 “ drawn upon ourselves a war we might have avoid-
 “ ed, a terrible, dangerous, and sudden war, and in
 “ the most unseasonable time for us. In fine, the Ro-
 “ mans are encamped in the Tarentine dominions,
 “ and we, as yet in the greatest uncertainty are de-
 “ liberating, whether it were best to enter into a for-
 “ midable war, or accept a shameful peace.

CHAP.

XI.



“ AND now I could wish from my heart, that
 “ laying aside all flattering hopes and views of pri-
 “ vate advantage, we would heartily unite in con-
 “ certing what measures will conduce to the honor
 “ and interest of the state: by what means we might
 “ either treat upon honorable terms, or take up
 “ arms with safety. At this time I see you divided
 “ into two parties, I had almost said factions, and
 “ each biassed by his own private inclinations,
 “ neglecting to take such wise and prudent steps
 “ as the present state of public affairs requires.
 “ For whence comes it to pass that I see so few young
 “ and poor men declare for peace, and none of the
 “ rich and aged approve of war? For no other rea-
 “ son, than that the latter desire to enjoy their
 “ estates and interest of money in tranquillity, and
 “ the former hope, in case of a war breaking out,
 “ to get honorable commands and reap advantage
 “ from free-booty. Nay, we have formerly been

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XII.



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XIII.

“ afflicted with this disease, nor has our state for a
 “ long time past wanted men, who were zealously
 “ bent upon encreasing their private fortunes even
 “ to endangering and prejudicing the public interest.
 “ ALL which evils you may very well remedy (for
 “ I speak what I think most conducive to the welfare
 “ of the state) if you neither purchase peace on so
 “ dishonorable conditions, as will infringe the rights
 “ of a free state, nor with your own strength alone
 “ oppose the present dangerous and formidable war.
 “ Our ancestors often gave the command of our
 “ armies to foreign generals. They have sent for Ar-
 “ chidamus ^a, the son of Agefilaus ^b, afterwards for
 “ Cleonymus ^c, and then for Agathocles ^d, either
 “ from Peloponnesus ^e or Sicily ^f. In our own me-
 “ mory, when we were harassed by the hostilities of
 “ our neighbors, our fathers called to their aid
 “ Alexander of Epirus ^g, by which prudent step they
 “ not only enjoyed tranquillity themselves, but left
 “ us the state in a flourishing condition. The same
 “ friendship subsists between us and the Epirotes at
 “ this day, and even now they have as strong an
 “ army and as able a commander. Pyrrhus ^h, whom
 “ we lately assisted with a considerable fleet when he
 “ engaged the Corcyreans ⁱ, is firmly attached to
 “ us by that favor. Do not therefore look upon
 “ this as my advice, but that of the wisest men, who,
 “ before our days, govern’d this state with the
 “ greatest success; and it you even ought to follow,
 “ because in the instance laid before you, you see,

^a King of Sparta.

^b Sixth king of the same place.

^c See Strabo, book vi.

^d Tyrant of Sicily. See Justin, book xxii. and Polybius, book xv. near the end.

^e See vol. i. chap. vii. p. 16. note a.

^f Ibid. chap. i. p. 6. note h.

^g See vol. ii. book viii. chap. iii. p. 302. note b.

^h He was descended of Achilles by the father’s side, and from Hercules by the side of his mother *Phibia*,

daughter of Menon of Thessaly. His valor and great experience in war gained him the character of one of the Heroes of Greece.

ⁱ They inhabited an island in the Ionian sea, formerly called by the ancients *Sicheria* and *Plæacia*, now *Corfu*. Here *Ulysses* suffered shipwreck, and *Alcinous* had his fine gardens. There was also another island called *Corcyra* in the Adriatic sea, formerly named *Melæna*, now *Curzola*.

“ as it were, the whole reasons, on which it is found-
 “ ed with the consequence itself.

“ BUT besides, there are also other strong and
 “ clear arguments to support it. There is no mem-
 “ ber of our own state so eminent, as that the rest
 “ will patiently submit to be commanded by him ;
 “ and you are very sensible how dangerous ambi-
 “ tious emulation is, when a state has to do with an
 “ inveterate and powerful enemy ; and whoever you
 “ should appoint general in chief, might prejudice
 “ your interest, either through an immoderate zeal
 “ for peace, or an excessive keenness to prosecute
 “ the war ; not to mention that it is not every gene-
 “ ral, who can safely be entrusted with the manage-
 “ ment of a war against the Romans, who are a
 “ nation inured to arms. But although nobody makes
 “ a question of Pyrrhus being the most valiant and able
 “ commander of the age, yet perhaps some may say he
 “ will not come to our aid. There is so little ground
 “ to apprehend this, as he is so great a lover of action,
 “ and engaged in no other war at present, that he will
 “ not only willingly come, but also bring along with
 “ him a strong and veteran army ; and that we may
 “ have no fears of his making attempts upon our liber-
 “ ties, let us treat with him on such terms, as shall
 “ ensure the safety of our state. By pursuing these
 “ measures we shall be enabled to undertake war
 “ upon reasonable hopes, and either obtain an ad-
 “ vantageous peace, or have it in our power to grant
 “ one, that will derive great glory to ourselves.
 “ Though such a turn may reasonably be hoped,
 “ that the Romans, who were formerly afraid of a
 “ king of the same Epirus, who was less distinguish-
 “ ed for reputation and strength, will rather treat
 “ with us on reasonable terms, than admit Pyrrhus
 “ into Italy in the present situation of affairs.”

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 XIV.

THIS advice not only prevailed on account of it's
 pointing out no contemptible method of preserving
 the state, but also, as the assembly being divided
 into contrary opinions, and neither party, by reason

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 XV.

CHAP. of the opposition of the other, able to carry their
 xv. point, all with one consent, as the nearest way to reconcile the two, embraced an opinion which seemed some kind of medium between both. It is said, that when the report of a decree having passed for calling in Pyrrhus, spread through the city, one Meto, a sober man, having carelessly put on a garland, and taken a torch in his hand, counterfeiting drunkenness, entered the theatre attended by a female minstrel. That the Tarentines, with their usual wantonness, ordered them “to get into the ring, the man to sing, “and the young woman to play.” Then, silence being made, Meto said, “you do well, Tarentines, “in permitting such as please the liberty to sing and “dance; for when once Pyrrhus shall come to “town, we shall hardly be allowed to live any “longer after our own humor.” This having made an impression upon the people, and a mutiny arising, alarmed the authors of the injuries done to the Romans, for fear peaceable measures should prevail, and they be delivered up to punishment. Wherefore chiding the rabble, “for suffering themselves “to be so shamefully made the laughing stock of a “madman,” they fell upon Meto and drove him out of the theatre, upon which the decree was approved without the least opposition.

CHAP. BUT the Roman consul, having received no propo-
 xvi. sitions of peace from the Tarentines, and heard besides, that they had sent ambassadors with presents to Pyrrhus, applied himself vigorously to the prosecution of the war. He laid waste the country, took some towns by storm, got possession of others by surrender, and filled every place with desolation and terror. Forces were likewise sent from Tarentum to put a stop to these hostilities, and a terrible battle was fought betwixt the two armies; but the Romans getting the better in it, the Greeks, with the loss of a great number of men, were driven into their town. Then Æmilius laid waste and burnt the country without opposition. As it is common with the rabble

to be proportionably more dejected in adversity, as they are more insolent in prosperity, so the Tarentines, terrified by their defeat, gave the management of their affairs to Agis, a person who had always advised to preserve the alliance of the Romans. Their desires and hopes of peace were likewise greatly enhanced by some of their noblemen, who were set at liberty by the Roman general, and spoke much “ of his civility, and his kind and courteous treatment of the other Tarentines, who had either been taken prisoners in the forementioned battle, or in different parts of the country.”

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XVI.

BUT their confidence of Cyneas's coming to their assistance with an army from Epirus, altered their minds, and kept up their spirits. For Pyrrhus, who was a man of vast spirit, and, in emulation of Alexander the Great, had conceived hopes of gaining a vast empire, believed, that he now had a way opened to him, and the invitation of the fates, to accomplish his designs. It is moreover related, that he was confirmed in his hopes by the response of the oracle at Delphos, the meaning whereof was indeed equivocal, and might easily be interpreted either way, but the king, through flattering ambition, looked upon it as a certain and happy presage of success. The answer of that oracle when he consulted it is said to have been, “ *posse eum Romanos vincere*.” But I am of opinion, he was more encouraged by the embassy from the Tarentines, whereby he was assured, “ that out of their own dominions, and those of the Lucanians, Messapians, Samnites, and other nations, who were all confederate in the same treaty, there might be raised twenty thousand horse, and three hundred and fifty thousand foot.” Should he once, with these troops, have reduced the Romans to subjection, he hoped, with little difficulty, to make a conquest of the rest of Italy. Then the short passage from Italy to Sicily, presented to his view that island, without a monarch,

CHAP.
XVII.

* Which equally signifies, *he might conquer the Romans and they him.*

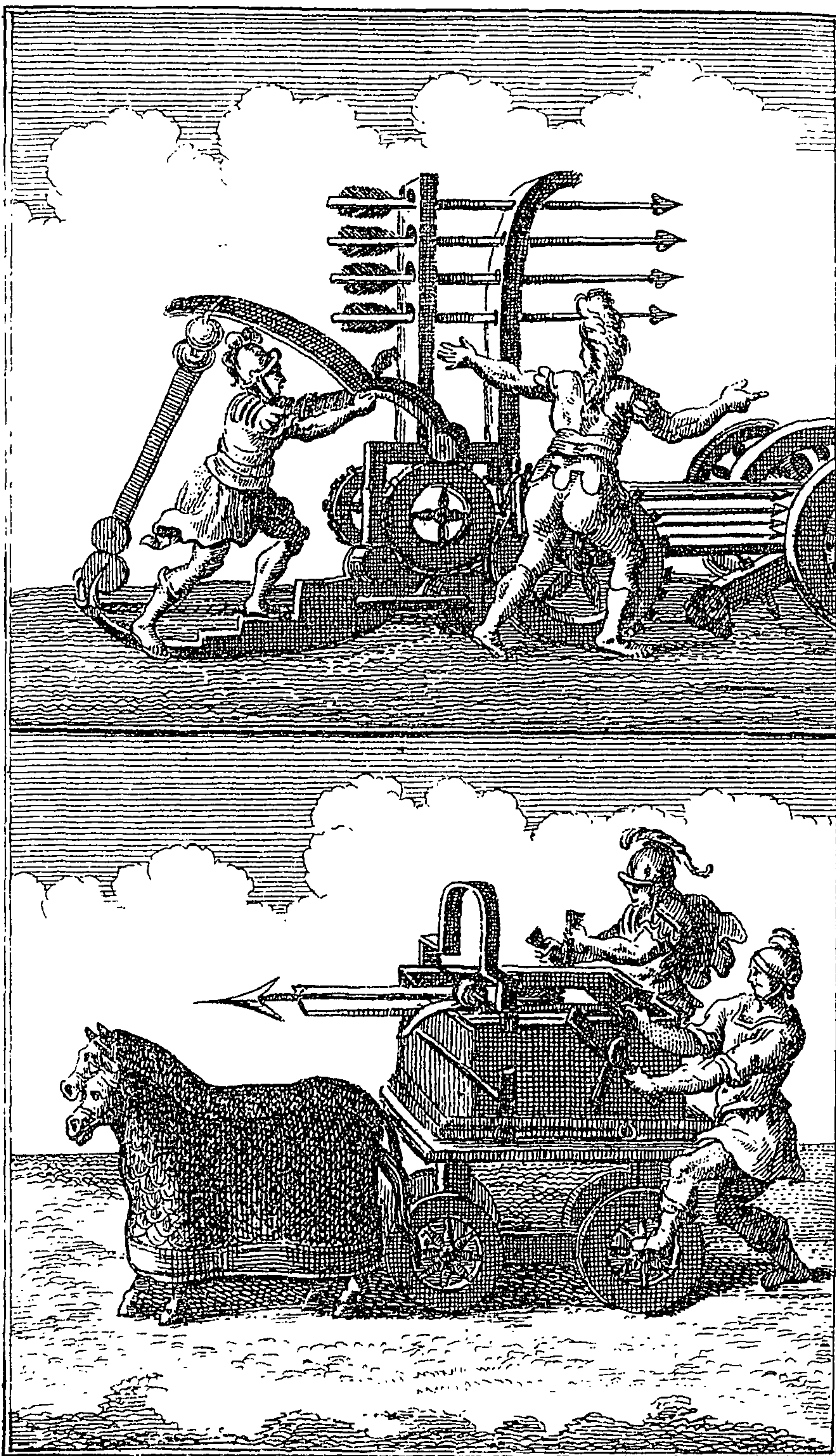
and torn into parties by the extinction of the line of Agathocles, and which he thought he ought to claim as the hereditary right of his own family, since he had children by Lanassa daughter of that prince. And when he had, according to his plan, executed these designs, he then intended to make war on Carthage.

CHAP.
XVIII.

IT is reported that Cineas, who was a very wise man, in order to shew the king, that his unbounded ambition was like to mar the pleasure of his present enjoyments, and to draw from him a confession that it ought to be checked, asked him, “ what he intended to do after he had conquered the Romans?” And as the king was shewing, “ that one conquest would still lay foundation for another,” he added, “ and what are we to do after all these are finished?” When the prince answered, “ we shall then plentifully enjoy the sweets of peace and ease;” Cineas replied, “ what hinders us, O king, from enjoying them this instant, while we have them in our power; since by entering upon new wars, they may be utterly effaced and lost?” But Pyrrhus, prevailed upon by a second embassy from the Tarentines, and biased by his own ambition, answered, “ It was natural for the Epirotes to fight not only for themselves, but also for their friends and allies.” However carefully concealing his secret designs from the ambassadors, he strenuously insisted upon this condition, “ that when he had brought them aid, they should detain him no longer in Italy than was absolutely necessary, and he should then be allowed to return home immediately.”

CHAP.
XIX.

IMMEDIATELY upon this he applied himself with great diligence to make preparations for the war. He manned a great number of galleys, and fitted out besides many other vessels for transporting men and horses. And that under pretext of doing them honor, he might detain the Italian ambassadors as hostages, he employed most of them in raising and lifting mercenary troops for his service, and sent the rest with



with three thousand soldiers under the command of Cineas, before him to Tarentum. Upon their arrival all hopes of peace were dissipated, and the command, being taken from Agis, was by an ordinance of the people conferred on one of those who had returned from the embassy. And not long after the king sent Milo, who placed a garison in the citadel of Tarentum, and demanded for himself the government and guard of their town, while the ignorant multitude were exceedingly rejoiced to think that foreigners took upon themselves all the trouble and fatigue, and left them to enjoy their ease in security, and therefore with chearfulness voted provisions for the soldiers, and supplies of money to Pyrrhus.

CHAP.
XIX.

IN the mean time L. Æmilius having got advice of the arrival of these troops from beyond sea, determined to march his army over into Lucania, in order to settle them with greater safety in winter quarters. His rout lay through certain narrow ways, hemmed in on one side by steep unpassable rocks, and by the sea on the other. The Tarentines having got intelligence of the consul's design, lined the shore with ships armed with scorpions^a and balistæ^b, and

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XX.

^a A kind of cross-bows to shoot small envenomed arrows.

^b A name taken from the Greek, to signify a sort of engine for stones, which by the help of it's moving powers, flung stones of three and four hundred pound weight. The common stones thrown in them weighed about a hundred, or a hundred and twenty-five pounds. Hence the names of ballistæ centenariæ, and talentariæ, which we meet with in Nonnius. Sometimes the ballista was loaded with a kind of cartridge-shot; that is, baskets, or sacks full of stones, were thrown by them with violence, among the enemy's army, which scattering abroad, broke the ranks, and did great execution. It was also sometimes used to throw the dead carcases of men and horses into besieged places, in order to infect the garison and inhabitants. Cæsar, in his second book

of the civil war, speaks of a ballista, which threw beams of twelve foot long, pointed with iron. The force of this machine was so prodigious, that, according to Josephus, a man, who stood by one at the siege of Jerusalem, had his head beaten off, and carried three hundred seventy-five paces from his body, by a stone which came from it. To which he adds, that the next day, a woman big with child was struck by one, with such violence, that the child was beaten out of her body, and carried sixty-two paces from her. Most historians have confounded the ballista with the catapulta. The machines were moved by great ropes, fastened to axle-trees, rollers, and capstanes. These ropes were ordinarily made of guts or nerves twisted together; and sometimes horse-hair, or the hair of any other strong animal, was mixed with them, to twelve inches

CHAP. and galled his troops as they were marching through
 xx. those narrow passes, wherein they were much exposed,
 with missile arms. Æmilius made his way through
 this defile, where valor was of no service, by a strata-
 gem; for he covered the flanks of his lines which
 were exposed to danger, with the prisoners, whom he
 had before thrown into his rear. In compassion to
 them the Tarentines left off galling their enemy, for
 fear of hurting their countrymen. Most part of these
 transactions were done this year at Tarentum. But
 at Rome C. Fabricius Luscinus, who had in his con-
 sulate gained a signal victory over the Samnites, Lu-
 canians and Bruttians, entered the capitol in triumph.
 Not many days after the consul Q. Marcius, return-
 ing from Hetruria, where he had met with success,
 obtained the same honor.

CHAP. FABRICIUS triumphed on the eleventh of
 xxi. March, but the reason why Marcius returned from his
 province at a juncture so unseasonable, as the war in
 Hetruria was not then ended, is not assigned. It is
 my conjecture he was sent for by the senate, who be-
 ing anxiously concerned about the coming of Pyr-
 rhus, wanted the advice of all their generals. For so
 terrible a war breaking out on all quarters, obliged
 them to keep many armies on foot for the defence
 of the empire, in order to which the proletarii, who
 had formerly been exempt from bearing arms, were
 now for the first time required to take the military
 oath. As they were so poor as not to be able to pro-
 vide themselves with arms, they were furnished with
 them at the public charge; in order that, while the
 legions were employ'd elsewhere, this corps, being
 posted in the forum and round the walls, might serve
 as a guard and sentries to defend the city. But all
 these precautions could not have prevented the im-

inches diameter. Nay, womens hair
 was sometimes used for this purpose.
 The first trial of it was, when the
 capitol was besieged by the Gauls.
 The Romans then wanted ropes; and

Vegecius and Capitolinus both say,
 that the hair of the Roman ladies sup-
 plied that defect. They voluntarily
 offered it, and the trial then made of
 it, brought it into use for the future.

pending

pending blow, had not providence, for the direction of the affairs of the republic at this most perillous juncture, reserved great men, nay perhaps the greatest that state had ever produced; illustrious not by riches or the splendor of birth, but by their contempt of the former, and by their valor. For this age produced Curius, Fabricius and Coruncanius, neither rich nor nobly descended, but of uncommon note for their extraordinary worth, a reputation, they acquired by their vast abilities in military affairs, and an equal probity of morals; by both these attainments they preserved their country, which stood in need of men, who could contemn the gold as well as repel the sword of an enemy, to oppose a king formidable in both these respects.

CHAP.
XXI.

IN the mean time Pyrrhus, who did not stay for the spring, and was bringing with him twenty-two thousand foot, three thousand horse, besides twenty elephants, and a small body of slingers and archers, met in the midst of his passage with a storm, which tossed him so, that he was very near being shipwrecked. The fleet being dispersed, many vessels wrecked, and the king's ship likewise in great danger, Pyrrhus flung himself in the sea, and with the greatest difficulty at last swam to shore. His courage and the care of the Messapians, who, as he was cast on their shore, shewed him all kindness and civility, prevented this disaster's affecting his body in any great degree. By means of this people, some of his ships, which had weathered the storm, were brought ashore, and a few horsemen, two elephants, and less than two thousand foot were got together. With this body the king took his rout to Tarentum, and Cineas with his troops met and conducted him into the town. He was received by the Tarentines with great acclamations, and reposed himself for a few days. During which time, having observed the morals of that people to be such, that if left to themselves, they not only could not be saved, but would also ruin their defenders,

he

CHAP.
XXII.

he concealed his intentions for the present. But when, by the arrival, at different times, of his ships which had been dispersed, he had got an army sufficient for his purpose, he shut up their academies and portico's, in which their indolent youths spent whole days in walking and telling trifling stories; prohibiting feasting and carousing, and retrenched the extravagance of their solemn games within reasonable bounds.

CHAP.
XXIII.

AFTER this he with the utmost strictness forced all their youth to lift themselves, ordering, according to his custom, those who made the levies, “to pitch upon those who were tall and well proportioned, and he would make them brave soldiers.” When he had mingled them in his own companies, lest if incorporated by themselves they should raise mutinies, he trained them with the same severity and strictness of discipline as he did his own; and punished with death those who did not attend their musters. But those who were not soldiers he obliged to spend the greater part of the day in the forum. This rigorous usage filled the minds of these men, who had been born and brought up in a shameful delicacy, with extreme anguish, and they termed it slavery to be obliged to save themselves thus, while they desired to die in indolence and luxury. Their aversion to the king was likewise increased by the outrages of some of his body guard who took up their quarters where they pleased, kept possession of them in spite of their landlords; and even treated their wives and children very rudely. On which account therefore many tired of those who lived with them left the city, and removed to the country, till the gates were shut and guards posted there to prevent them.

CHAP.
XXIV.

THEN the Tarentines, understanding too late that they had got a master instead of an ally, as they had only this way left, deplored their condition in passionate and bitter complaints, and that with more freedom, when they met together about

any necessary business, as they heated their passion to a more than usual pitch by wine. Nor were there wanting persons, who informed Pyrrhus of these things; and some being called before him were charged with speaking dishonorably of his majesty at their feasts. But they escaped this danger by a simple and ingenuous confession of one of their number; who answered, “we did speak these, and “would have said much more severe things, if our “wine had not failed us.” Upon which Pyrrhus, chusing rather to lay the blame upon the wine than the men, smiled at the answer and dismissed them. But still mistrusting the morals and affections of that people, whenever he observed any who had great influence with them, either for authority or wisdom, he contrived and fell on pretexts to send some of them away to his son Ptolemy, a youth of fifteen years of age, whom at his departure he had made regent of his kingdom; others he put to death by secret practices; and some he caressed with an affected complaisance, and made them his familiars in order to render them suspected by their own people.

CHAP.
XXIV.

IN this latter class was one Aristarchus, a man eminent among the nobility for his eloquence and great affection to his countrymen. When the king perceived, that, notwithstanding all his art, this man was in great favor with the people, he commanded him to set sail for Epirus, under pretext of some particular business. Aristarchus seeing it was present death to disobey the king's orders, and that to obey was a more slow though as certain destruction, went aboard a vessel, and having put off a little way, altered his course directly for Rome, where he was taken under protection, and gave the senate a long information of many important affairs. While Pyrrhus was thus employed at Tarentum, at Rome the levies for carrying on the war were forwarded with great briskness, money collected, and C. Fabricius sent to the states in alliance with them, by his authority and influence to deter them from attempting

CHAP.
XXV.

a revolution ; others, whose inclination to change sides they were jealous of, were preserved in their fidelity by putting garisons in proper places.

CHAP.

XXVI.



FOR wherever a people were discontented from a sense of injuries received, or disposed to sedition from a fondness to change their masters, the thoughts of a confederacy among so many powerful nations against one state, and the great hopes conceived of this warlike prince, blew up these coals of rebellion into a flame. This made the Romans take every precaution, and provide for their own safety by seasonably cutting off the ringleaders of sedition. At this time a remarkable accident happened to some noblemen of Præneste. For having come to Rome in the dusk of the evening, and under pretext of imprisonment been shut up in the public treasury, they came at length to understand the equivocal prediction of a false oracle, in confidence of which, they had often assured the commons of their city, in order to drive them to a revolt, that it was determined by the fates, “the Prænestines” “should become possessed of the Roman treasury.” The fathers had already care enough upon their spirits (for they had heard that Fabricius was detained by some of their allies as an hostage, till they should receive their countrymen in safety from the Romans, and embassadors were sent to excite the Hetrurians, Umbrians and Gauls to declare against Rome) when a new cause of trouble was superadded, by an action horrid in itself, and of dangerous consequence, as it was like at this unseasonable juncture to bring the Roman faith under suspicion and discredit with all the states of Italy.

CHAP.

XXVII.



IN the utmost coast of Italy opposite to Sicily stands the city of Rhegium*, so called by the Greeks at that time a flourishing and wealthy state. It's inhabitants perceiving on the arrival of Pyrrhus, that a great and dreadful war was breaking out ; and besides being intimidated by the Carthaginian fleet which cruized up and down these seas, as they were

* The capital of Bruttium.

diffident of their own strength thought proper to call in a Roman garison. A body of four thousand men, levied out of the colonies in Campania, and thence called the Campanian legion, were sent to them under the command of Decius Jubellius, a legionary tribune. At first they were both very faithful and diligent in defending the city. But at last, because they had no apprehensions of any impending war, by idleness and imitating the manners of the Greeks, they degenerated into luxury, and comparing their present affluence with the hard laborious life they had hitherto led, they began to talk of the commodiousness of the place, and the happiness of its inhabitants, in discourses full of avarice and envy, when they were going their rounds and in their quarters.

DECIUS himself was delighted with the action, as he, inspired with the same phrenzy, had before formed in his own breast the wicked design of seizing the city. The present war gave him a favorable opportunity of executing his scheme, as he knew the Romans would be so much engaged by it, that they could not mind the affair of the Rhegians; and he looked on the Mamertines, on the opposite coast, as an example of successful villainy, and certain abettors of a treachery like their own, besides the circumstance of their being his countrymen. For they were originally of Campania, and in former years having hired themselves among the other auxiliaries of Agathocles, and been received as friends by the Messanians^a, after having either put to the sword or ejected all the inhabitants, they seized the town and divided the houses and wives of that wretched people among themselves. He also called to mind the instance of the ancient Campanians, who took possession of Capua, which they had taken from the Heturians, by a like instance of treachery. When the design was approved, nothing remained but to contrive, how to perpetrate this wickedness

^a They inhabited a city of Sicily, when we come to treat of the wars which shall be more fully described between the Romans and Sicilians.

with safety, and to prevent themselves, who were but a small body, from being beset and killed, in a populous city, by the greater number.

CHAP.

XXIX.

HE counterfeited letters as from the Rhegians to Pyrrhus, importing that the Roman garison should be betrayed into his hands. Upon which the soldiers were privately assembled, and the letters read to them as if they had been intercepted. Decius complained bitterly of the treachery of the Rhegians, and some, who had been instructed for the purpose, cried out in the crowd of soldiers, “ that they must preserve their
“ lives by taking arms, and turn the destruction de-
“ stined for themselves upon the heads of it’s au-
“ thors.” Besides there came one, according to concert, and affirmed, “ that Pyrrhus’s fleet had
“ been seen on the coast of Rhegium, and that it’s
“ commanders had private conferences with the in-
“ habitants.” The soldiers, besides their former covetous disposition, were now also enflamed by the treachery of the enemy, and fear of danger. Wherefore they came unanimously into this resolution, “ that the townsmen should be killed before
“ they had time to suspect or provide against this
“ massacre, and that all their public treasure and
“ private fortunes should become the property of
“ the legion.” Hereupon was perpetrated an horrid and inhuman villainy. Decius having invited most of the principal men of the place to supper, violated the laws of hospitality and killed them ; others were slain in different quarters within their own houses ; and when the greatest part of the Rhegians were massacred, those who survived were expelled their native country, by those very troops, which a little before they had admitted into it, under the name of friends and allies, in order to defend them and it together.

CHAP.

XXX.

WHEN they had committed this wickedness, they set about new modelling the state. The houses and effects of the unfortunate inhabitants were divided, as if they had been booty taken from an enemy,
among

among the villains; and whilst the slaughter was still fresh, their wives and daughters were forced to marry the murderers of their husbands and fathers; and this cruel and treacherous legion assumed the rights and title of the Rhegian state. But God has taken such care of mankind, that generally instances of notorious villainy are also made examples of remarkable vengeance, in order that none may be more encouraged, by the success of wickedness, to be guilty of the like impious practices, than deterred therefrom by their end and consequences. So that nothing is more incompatible with real felicity than villainy; nor can there be greater madness, than to imagine, that any one can promote his happiness by means of it. For supposing that after this life there remained no punishments, which the wise know to be very great, (though men are generally so incredibly foolish, as scarcely to believe what they see, and much less be influenced by what comes not under the cognizance of their outward senses) yet, though every thing else should go on prosperously, the reflection upon their guilt inwardly galls and preys upon their consciences; their name when alive and memory when dead are detested and abhorred by men; and generally what they have got by base practices cannot be retained, but is torn from them to their great sorrow, as neither God nor men suffer villainy to pass long with impunity.

I CHUSE in this place briefly to mention the punishment of Decius Jubellius and the other accomplices of his madness, as far as it is connected with the transactions of the present times; for though their final destruction was deferred till ten years after, as we shall shew in the sequel, yet they were in the mean time distressed by many calamities. The villainous robbers did not long enjoy satisfaction and peace among themselves. Yet their apprehensions from the Romans and Pyrrhus were dispelled by the present situation of affairs, the treaty they entered into

CHAP.
XXXI.

with the Mamertines^a, and the resolution they formed neither to provoke the Romans nor the king. For till their infant state, which had been but lately founded by violence, should gather strength, they deemed it their safest course to abstain from war; because on one hand they saw they could not safely molest the king, and on the other they hoped the Romans would more readily pardon them, if they did not bear arms against them. The first cause of their quarrel, as is common among thieves, arose from an unequal division of the booty. Decius was expelled the city by a mutiny and fled to Messana, while the soldiers at Rhegium chose his secretary M. Cæsius for their commander. As Decius had brought a great sum of money with him, he had the same honor confer'd on him by the Mamertines, which he had enjoy'd at Rhegium; but his good fortune was neither of long continuance, nor attended with satisfaction.

CHAP.
XXXII.

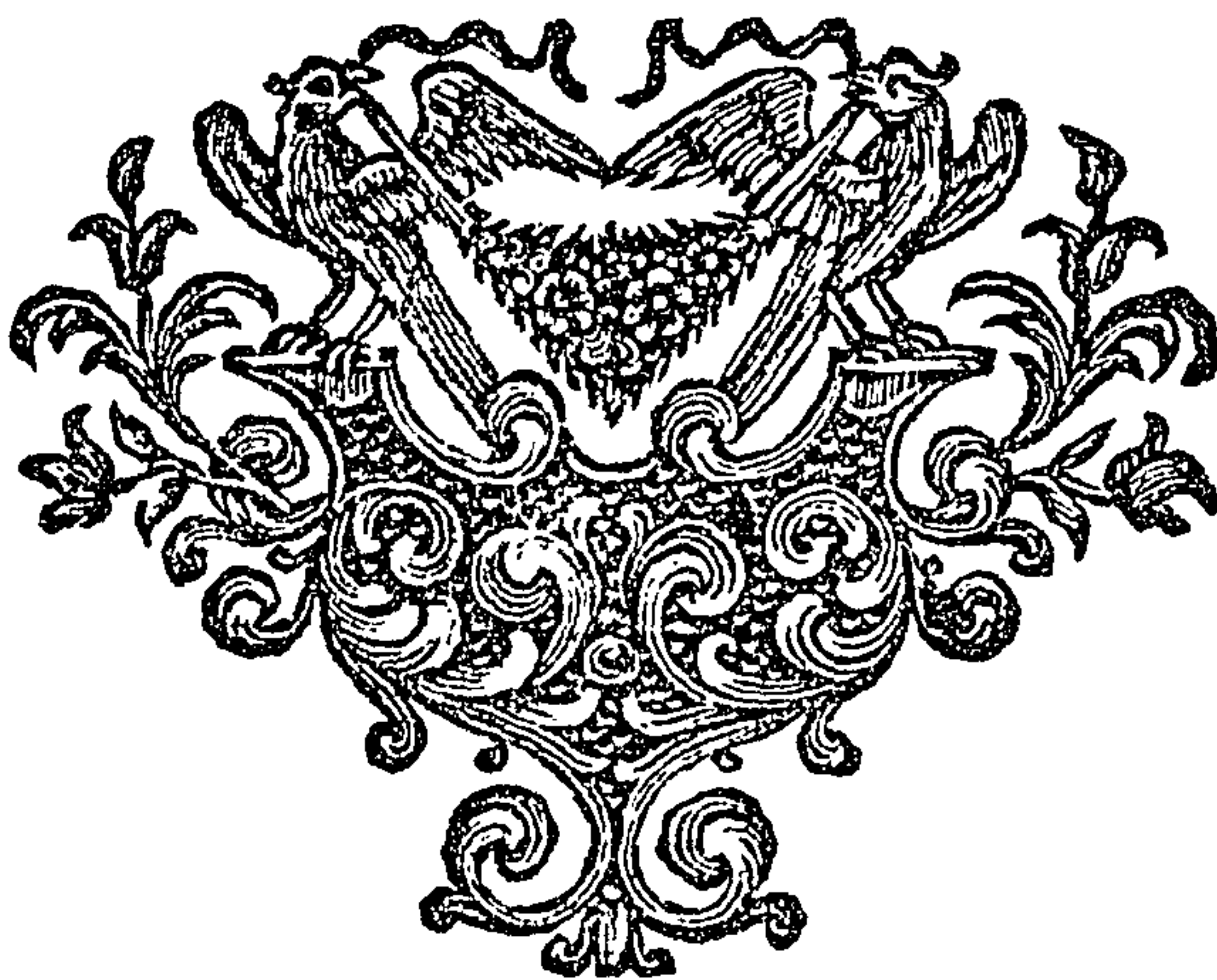
FOR it happened, that being seized with a violent distemper in his eyes, he ordered a famous physician to be called, the divine vengeance even herein driving this wicked monster to multiplied and more severe punishment. For the physician, who was brought to his house, was a native of Rhegium; but as he had lived many years at Messana, his origin was unknown either to Decius, who would never have entrusted himself to the care of any Rhegian, or to most of the inhabitants of this town where he lived. This man, remembering his native country, and resolved to revenge it's injuries, persuaded his patient, that he had brought a very strong medicine, but very safe and quick in it's operation. And then applying a plaister, mixed with the extract of cantharides, and forbidding to take it off, till he should return to his patient, he went directly on board a vessel and fled from Messana. Decius, having long enough suffered incredible pain, when he saw the physician did not return, ordered the eye-salve to be

^a A people of Bruttium, who had seized Messana in Sicily.

taken off, which done, he found he had lost his eyes. Thus, becoming an infamous exile, despised, blind, and disordered both in body and mind, he was reserved for punishment, as much as if he had been bound in chains. The exact justice of the divine vengeance appeared most remarkably in this circumstance, that he, who had before inhumanly and treacherously circumvented those, whom he ought to have protected, should suffer this misfortune from one to whom he had entrusted the care of his own life. It is of great benefit to mankind that such examples should be fully related and recorded in story. For men can never be too much convinced of the difference between true prudence and that subtlety whereby those who despise virtue and honesty for some specious good, are hurried headlong into real evils by base and wicked passions.

CHAP.
XXXII.

End of the TWELFTH Book.



JOHN FREINSHEIM'S
SUPPLEMENT
TO THE
ROMAN HISTORY

B Y

TITUS LIVIUS of *Padua*.

DECADE II. BOOK XIII.

The consul, Valerius Levinus, is worsted in a battle with Pyrrhus, because his troops unaccustomed to elephants were affrighted at the sight of them. After this battle, as Pyrrhus was viewing the bodies of the Romans who had fallen in it, he finds them all with their faces towards the enemy. He ravages the Roman territories almost as far as the walls of the city. C. Fabricius, being sent to treat with him about ransoming the prisoners, is in vain tempted by the king to desert his native country. The prisoners sent back without ransom. Cineas sent ambassador to the senate by Pyrrhus, desires, that in order to conclude a peace the king might be admitted into the city. It being resolved to refer this demand to a fuller meeting of the senate, Ap. Claudius, who had long left off attending public counsels on account of the weakness of his eyes, comes to the house, and argues with such strength of reason against it, that Pyrrhus's request is denied. Cn. Domitius, the first plebeian censor, holds a lustrum. Two hundred seventy-eight thousand citizens are registered. Another doubtful battle fought with Pyrrhus. The treaty with the Carthagians renewed a fourth time. A deserter, who had fled from Pyrrhus to the consul Fabricius, promising to poison the king, sent back to him by the consul with a discovery of the whole affair. This book besides contains the success of the Romans against the Hetrurians, Lucanians, Bruttians and Samnites.

IN

IN the mean time, part of the forces being kept CHAP.
 behind for the defence of Rome, and to guard 1.
 against the uncertain chances of war, the army and
 provinces were delivered to the new consuls. It fell
 to the lot of P. Valerius Lævinus to act against the
 Tarentines and Pyrrhus, and the remains of the He-
 trurian war fell to Tib. Coruncanius. Lævinus ima-
 gined it would render his name terrible, and great-
 ly enhance his reputation to see the enemy distressed
 by him; and withal that it was advantageous to the
 state to remove the dread and inconvenience of the
 war as far as possible from the Roman dominions; he
 therefore marched his army immediately into Lucania,
 where he fortified and put a strong garison into a
 castle that was conveniently situated, in order both to
 obstruct Pyrrhus's designs, and deter the Lucani-
 ans, whose fidelity he suspected, from revolting to
 the enemy. Upon news of the Roman consul's
 arrival, Pyrrhus, judging it would be disgraceful and
 detrimental to shew any sign of fear in the very be-
 ginning of the war, though the allies were not yet
 come up, immediately marched to meet him with
 the forces he had.

P. Valerius
 Lævinus
 and Tib.
 Coruncanius
 consuls.
 Y. of R. 472.
 B. J. C. 285.

HOWEVER in order to retard the business on CHAP.
 some honorable pretext, he sent an herald with a II.
 flag of peace and letters, the contents whereof were,
 "Pyrrhus to Lævinus, health. I am informed,
 "that you are come with an army to act against the
 "Tarentines. But disband it, and come to me at-
 "tended with a few men. When I shall have
 "understood the ground of your difference, I will
 "compel the contending parties, however unwill-
 "ing, to do justice to one another." To this
 "Lævinus answered, "We neither take you for
 "an arbiter of our differences, nor dread you as
 "an enemy. But you seem to act absurdly,
 "when you officiously pry into other peoples
 "differences, while you are guilty of injuries
 "yourself, in not having given us satisfaction for

CHAP.

II.



“ entering Italy, without our permission. There-
 “ fore I come with an army in battalia as well against
 “ you as the Tarentines, and refer the decision of
 “ our right to the arbitration of Mars, the founder
 “ of our race.” Soon after he marched, and en-
 camped in a plain between the cities of Panonia and
 Heraclea, having his camp parted from the enemies
 by the river Siris ^a. It is reported that Pyrrhus,
 having approached the banks of the river to re-
 connoitre the Romans, after he had carefully view-
 ed their disposition, said to one of his favorites,
 whose name was Megacles, “ The disposition of these
 “ barbarians is by no means barbarous; but we shall
 “ very soon be able to judge of what they can do.”

CHAP.

III.



BUT after this he posted a strong guard on the
 banks of the river to prevent the enemy's attempt-
 ing it, and determined to wait the coming of his
 allies. For besides the present state of the war,
 which made him hope, the Romans, being in an
 enemy's country, would be distressed for want of
 necessaries, he was extremely vexed at the confident
 security of Lævinus, his admiration whereof had
 been lately augmented by a fresh instance of his dis-
 missing with impunity some enemies who had come
 as spies to his camp, after telling them “ that he
 “ had another army, still more numerous.” In the
 mean time, as the two camps were so near, there
 happened continual skirmishes, but without the least
 effect to draw on a general battle. Therefore, after
 having spent fifty days in these skirmishes, the con-
 sul, who had the same reasons to hasten an action,
 that Pyrrhus had to avoid it, assembled his troops,
 informed them of his designs, and endeavored to
 fortify them against any fear of this strange enemy.
 He, as much as possible lessened Pyrrhus's reputa-
 tion, and the terror of his elephants; and made such
 dispositions as were necessary for fighting the enemy
 if they were unwilling to hazard a battle, or compel
 them against their inclination.

^a Now the *Sinno* or *Senno*.

THEREFORE when he saw that Pyrrhus steadily persevered in his resolution of avoiding a battle, he detached all his cavalry before, as if they had intended to make an incursion upon the lands for plunder, and he himself staid with the legions drawn up in battalia, till he should hear a shout and noise on the opposite bank. The horse marched round a great way from their camp to a place where the river was unguarded ; there they forded it, and advanced at a gallop against the detachment that was posted on the enemy's side. The Epirotes, terrified at this sudden attack, retreated to their camp. Pyrrhus, being informed that the enemy were advancing, hurried, with all possible dispatch, to the river with his whole cavalry, which amounted only to three thousand men, in hopes to surprize the Romans passing the river with their ranks in disorder, and struggling with the rough ground and waters in a blind ford. But when the Roman horse advanced against him, being distinguished by the splendor of his arms, no less than by his eminent strength and presence of mind, he began the attack with an intrepidity equal to his reputation. For he commanded his whole army with as much conduct, and gave his orders as coolly, as if he had been perfectly void of all other cares ; and wherever it was requisite thither he flew and fought, as if his duty had been only that of a common soldier, and another had had the sole direction of the battle.

IN the mean time one Leonatus, a Macedonian, acquainted Pyrrhus, that he had observed one of the enemy, who, without minding any one else, confined himself wholly to watching the motions of the king as he flew through the whole army, and rode up to every place where he saw him charge in person. To him the king replied, " no man, Leonatus, can avoid his fate. But neither shall this Italian, or any other person, escape in safety, if he engage with me." He had scarce spoke these words when Oplacus, (for that was the name of the officer who commanded the Tretane troop)

run the king's horse through with his lance. Leonatus in his turn served the Italian's horse in the same manner. But the king's friends surrounding Oplacus, killed him and rescued the king. This accident occasioned a great consternation among his troops, who imagined he had been slain. Wherefore to encourage his men, and at the same time to avoid the impending danger, he changed dress and arms with Megacles, and leaving him in the battle, went himself to form and bring up the phalanx.

CHAP.

VI.



THEN the Roman legions likewise engaged, the battle was long fought with great obstinacy, and the victory so doubtful, that it is recorded, the fortune of the day changed sides seven times, sometimes the Romans sometimes the Tarentines and Epirotes retreating. But matters were reduced to a desperate pass on Pyrrhus's side by the death of Megacles; for as he was distinguished by wearing the royal arms, he was set upon by the bravest of the other army, each of whom eagerly desired to have the glory of killing the king. At last a cavalier named Dexter, bringing his mantle and helmet, whereof he had stripped the dead body, with a great shout to the consul, made both armies believe he had killed him. Then were the Greeks in every quarter filled with terror and consternation, and had certainly fled, had not Pyrrhus immediately rode up and down with his head bare, and informed them with an audible voice, "that he was alive and present," whereby he as much abated the confidence of the Romans, as he relieved the fear and despair of his own troops. Lævinus, thinking this the proper time to have recourse to this last resource, gave the horse, which he had placed in ambush, the signal to fall on the enemy's rear. But Pyrrhus, having likewise reserved his elephants to terrify the enemy in the end, ordered them to advance against this squadron.

CHAP.

VII.



THIS prudent step quite quashed the hopes of the Romans, and determined the event of the whole battle in favor of Pyrrhus. For the men struck with
terror

terror at the enormous bulk of these huge animals and the dreadful sight of armed men standing upon their backs, imagined they saw rather some vast and formidable monster, than the shape of any natural creature; and likewise the horses frightened at the sight, smell and braying of these beasts, which they had never seen before, immediately took to their heels. In their career they put the next ranks into disorder; and either flung their riders, or, in spite of their endeavors to prevent it, run away with them; nay, rushing upon the main body of their own army, they caused great confusion and tumult in every quarter of it. Those who guided the elephants pursued, many of the fugitives were wounded by those who stood in the towers on the backs of these beasts, and more killed and trodden to death by the elephants themselves. But though the consul tried all methods of defence in vain, he still kept his troops together, till Pyrrhus ordered a squadron of Thessalian horse to charge, and thereby broke and dispersed them as they made but a faint resistance.

CHAP.
VII.

AND doubtless, considering the situation of the place in which they were cooped up, they might all have been cut to pieces or taken prisoners, had not Pyrrhus, according to a maxim, whereby he thought it good policy in general not to press too eagerly after a flying enemy, lest a despair of saving their lives should make them fight with greater obstinacy another time, obliged his troops to give over the pursuit, to which the coming on of the night likewise contributed. Fortune likewise assisted the remains of the conquered army; for one of the elephants having received a wound, turned round, and with its braying put the others in confusion. This accident stopped the enemy, and gave the flying army time to pass the river and get into Apulia, where they secured themselves against the present danger within a fortified town. I find that of the Romans and their allies there fell in that battle fourteen thousand eight hundred and seventy foot, two hundred and forty six horse. The pri-

CHAP.
VIII.

prisoners were in all eighteen hundred and twelve, among whom were eight hundred and two troopers. They likewise lost twenty two military ensigns.

CHAP.
IX.

I AM the more surpris'd, that authors, who have related these particulars with so minute an exactness, should deny, that the number of the slain on the king's side had ever been reckoned ; since Dionysius writes, that Lævinus lost a few less than fifteen thousand, and that thirteen thousand were slain on the side of the conquerors. But Hieronymus Cardianus, a good historian of those days, says, that no more than seven thousand Romans were slain ; and the loss in the royal army did not amount to four thousand. However it is certain they all agree, that this victory cost Pyrrhus the flower of his officers and soldiers, and he was heard to say, “ that he was no less conquered “ than conqueror in that battle.” Likewise it is said he confessed this by putting up an inscription to the same purpose, when he was presenting the spoils to Jupiter the tutelary God of Tarentum ; and when his allies complained of it, he replied, “ truly if I gain “ such another victory, I shall return to Epirus with “ not a soldier to attend me.” I likewise find in one historian, that the king himself was wounded in this battle ; but as others mention no such thing, and I observe that the circumstances of different battles are sometimes jumbled together, I dare not give credit to one, in a case wherein many and more accurate writers are silent.

CHAP.
X.

THAT this was in truth a very obstinate battle may be gathered from this circumstance, that the day after it, as Pyrrhus was carefully viewing the bodies of the dead, which, to gain himself the character of being merciful and humane, he had ordered to be buried, when he observed that all the Romans had died of honorable wounds with their faces towards the enemy, he cry'd out, “ O ! how easy would it be for “ me to conquer the world if I had Roman soldiers ! ” And he immediately attempted by fair speeches and great promises to entice those he had taken to enter
into



into his pay, and though they persevered in refusing, yet he treated them with no less humanity and clemency on that account, and never put them into chains, or under such marks of disgrace, as are generally the fate of prisoners. But on the back of their rough usage in the battle, the Romans were terrified by another misfortune, which though inferior in point of loss, yet struck them with great terror and superstitious fears. For they considered it as a visible judgment from heaven, that a sudden storm arose and made havock of their foragers, who were accidentally abroad, in such a manner, that amidst the terrible crash of the heavens thirty four were killed, twenty two blasted and left half dead by the lightning, and many of their cattle were either killed or hurt by the same storm.



IN the mean time Pyrrhus, after he had taken the Roman camp, which was empty and abandoned, made a speedy improvement of his success, advanced with his troops, and by laying waste all the neighboring country, disposed many nations to renounce their alliances with Rome. Then came up his allies the Lucanians and Samnites, to whom he gave part of the booty, though he chid them gently, “for their absence on the day of battle,” and yet at the same time expressed an infinite joy and satisfaction, “that he had defeated a numerous army of the Romans with his own troops, assisted only by the Tarentines.” Whilst Pyrrhus was thus eagerly bent upon reaping the fruits of his victory, Lævinus, on the other hand, by taking care of the wounded, and gathering together the dispersed, set a considerable army again on foot; and the senate, though they imputed the cause of the defeat to the consul, and Fabricius said, “he did not reckon the Romans had been defeated by the Epirotes, but Lævinus by Pyrrhus,” ordered supplies of men to be sent him.



THE consul, strengthened by this reinforcement, followed Pyrrhus close at the heels, and harassed his army by every method in his power. Having also

CHAP. XII. also been apprized of the king's design to seize Capua, he prevented him by forcing a march, and made such preparations of every thing necessary for an obstinate defence, as deterred him from the attempt. Pyrrhus took the rout of Neapolis^a, and his hopes there being likewise frustrated, made long marches by the Latine way^b towards Rome itself. Having taken Fregellæ^c in his way, and passed by Agnania^d, and the country of the Hernici, he was already come as far as Præneste, within twenty miles of Rome. But the magistrates of the city, as soon as they had heard of the defeat, had enlisted and armed all the youth by an order of the senate. Besides, at this very time providence had opportunely provided another considerable reinforcement for the help of the Roman people. For the other consul, Tib. Coruncanius, who had fought the Hetrurians with better success, had bound that whole nation by a new treaty; so that being recalled by the senate to protect his native country, and being obstructed by no other enemy, he hastened to their assistance with his victorious army.

CHAP. XIII. PYRRHUS, after he had in vain attempted to excite the Hetrurians to take up arms, reflecting, that besides the city's being protected by her own guards, he lay between two consular armies, one before and another behind him, marched back into Campania. Where seeing Lævinus advancing against him with a more numerous army than he had before his defeat, he said, "he had to do with the Lernæan hydra, whose heads being cut off sprung up again in greater number." Yet, relying on his former victory, he led out his troops, and marshalled them in order of battle; and likewise in order to try the spirits of his own men, and at the same time strike

^a Naples.

^b It began at Rome near the Latine gate, led to Latiun, ran south east almost to Cassinum, nineteen stadia from Capua, where it joined the Appian way.

^c A famous city of the Volsci, situated between *Formiæ* and *Sinuessa*, not far from the river *Liris*, it is now called *Ponte Corvo*.

^d Was the capital of the Hernici in the present *Campagno di Roma*.

terror into the enemy, he gave orders to his army to set up a shout, and to cause the elephants to bray. A greater and more terrible shout was returned by the Romans, from whence forming a judgment of the courage of both, he judged it his wisest course to decline fighting at that time; and under pretext of the omens being unfavorable, led back his army from thence to Tarentum, carrying with him a very rich booty and a great number of prisoners.

CHAP.
XIII.

BUT the Romans, whose constancy was not in the least abated at this most calamitous period, but had always expressed the greatest hopes, and talked with the highest confidence of the issue of the war, thinking this the fittest time for rewarding true valor, decreed a triumph to L. Æmilius Barbula for what he had performed during his consulate: and accordingly on the 6th of the ides of July he triumphed over the Tarentines, Samnites, and Sallentines, who had assisted the Tarentines. But the consul P. Valerius was ordered “to carry the remains of his conquered army into the dominions of Setium, there to encamp, and oblige them to live all winter in tents.” At the same time a debate arising in the senate, concerning ransoming the prisoners, the question was carried in the affirmative. I believe the senate was chiefly influenced herein by the misfortune of the cavalry, who had bravely maintained the fight, as long as the elephants were out of fight; but when their coming up had frightened their horses, the riders, without being to blame, fell into the hands of the enemy, and were either killed or taken prisoners. Men of the first distinction came to negotiate this affair. P. Cornelius Dolabella, famous for his having extirpated the nation of the Senones, C. Fabricius Luscinus and Q. Æmilius Papus, who had been colleagues in the consulate two years before, were nominated ambassadors.

CHAP.
XIV.

PYRRHUS was naturally very courteous and civil, qualities inseparable from generous and heroic souls; but ambition had rendered him extremely

CHAP.
XV.

more

CHAP. more complaisant, as he entertained the common pre-
 xv. judice, that the only design of virtues was to pave
 the way to empire. This thirst of power was his
 only vice, and he was so extremely addicted to it,
 that it influenced all his designs. And although
 he was second to no general of that age in cou-
 rage and experience in war, yet before he would
 have recourse to it, he used first to try all me-
 thods of peace; and he practised upon the hearts
 of his enemies, according as each was to be wrought
 on, by the motives of fear, covetousness, plea-
 sure, mercy, and last of all by granting reasonable
 and advantageous terms. Therefore when he was
 informed that ambassadors were coming to him
 from Rome, imagining that so many eminent men
 of consular dignity were certainly sent upon more
 important business than they really were, he was
 buoyed up with the hopes of their bringing instruc-
 tions for making a peace. In order therefore to ren-
 der their journey safe, and arrival honorable, he de-
 tached Lyco, a Mollofian, as far as the frontiers of
 the Tarentine dominions, to meet them with an e-
 scorte, and he himself, attended with a splendid troop
 of horse, received them, on their arrival, without the
 gate of the city. After he had conducted them into
 the town, he entertained them with the greatest mag-
 nificence and civility, and furnished them with every
 thing in the greatest abundance and plenty. Mode-
 ration of mind was the subject of their first conversa-
 tion, wherein they remarked “ the great inconstancy
 “ of fortune; the great vicissitudes of war, and the
 “ impossibility of foreseeing future events;” and then
 they opened their instructions, “ that they were come
 “ to get back their prisoners, if he would give leave
 “ to ransom them at a stated price per head, or be
 “ exchanged for Tarentines or others.”

CHAP. IT was Pyrrhus's custom never to determine up-
 xvi. on any affair of importance, without laying it before
 a counsel of his friends, who being then assembled
 one of them, Milo, earnestly persuaded him “ to
 “ mak

“ make the proper use of his success, retain the prisoners, and not lay down his arms till the Romans were subdued.” But Cineas’s opinion was very different. He took notice “ of the constancy of the senate and people of Rome, and gave instances of it’s having been invincible, in cases of the greatest extremity,” and then added, “ we may either hate the manner, or despise the arms of other nations ; but, O king, my opinion is, that we ought rather to be in peace than war with this people, and it will be your interest not only to restore, but even present them their prisoners ; nor should you delay sending ambassadors with presents to Rome, to conclude a peace on equal conditions.

CHAP.

XVI.

“ IF I have any judgment, I think this the time that you have it in your power to reap advantage to yourself, and that with honor. For if you negotiate a peace in time of your prosperity, you will more easily obtain what you desire ; and seem to have offered terms, from no other motive than your wonted greatness of mind, to those whom you had it in your power to have subjected by arms. But suppose your affairs continue to prosper, as they have begun, and God forbid it should be otherwise ; yet we are men, and if fortune should change, we shall find it more difficult to make a peace, nor will we obtain so honorable terms.” The rest likewise spoke to the same effect, and the king himself agreeing to this advice, ordered the Roman ambassadors to be called in. When they were come, it is said he made them the following speech. “ In truth, Romans, you use me very unhandsomly, when without making any propositions of peace, you demand back the prisoners I have taken in war, with an intention, when I shall have restored them, to employ them against me. Therefore, if, hereafter shewing a sincere disposition to measures better and more advantageous to us both, you enter into friendship and

CHAP.

XVII.

CHAP. XVII. “ and alliance with us, in that case take back
 “ both your own citizens and allies, whom I have
 “ taken, without ransom. But if you resolve to
 “ continue your hostilities against me, I think I
 “ would act like a madman, if I should reinforce an
 “ inveterate enemy with so many brave men. Nei-
 “ ther am I so straitned for money, as to want it
 “ from the Romans, who, were we friends, ought
 “ rather to be enriched by my bounty.” At the
 same time he ordered valuable presents to be given
 to the ambassadors, assuring them, “ he would be-
 “ stow a greater number and more considerable ones
 “ at another opportunity.”

CHAP. XVIII. THESE things were said and done before all
 the ambassadors in general. But after this the king
 had a longer and more particular conference with
 Fabricius alone ; nor am I ashamed to relate what I
 find recorded by authentic writers. In this private
 conversation then, as was afterwards commonly re-
 ported, among many other things the king spoke
 to this effect. “ C. Fabricius, as I sincerely desire
 “ to have all the rest of the Romans my friends, so
 “ especially I do you ; whom I esteem to excel all
 “ others for your conduct both in civil and military
 “ affairs. Yet I am sorry to see that you want one
 “ thing ; for your circumstances are too narrow to
 “ enable you to keep up the port becoming men
 “ of quality. I will not suffer this frown of for-
 “ tune to make you uneasy any longer, for I will
 “ give you such plenty of gold and silver, in money
 “ and plate, as will set you above the most opulent
 “ Roman in point of riches. Because I am persuaded
 “ that nothing can be more worthy my princely sta-
 “ tion and fortune than relieving the oppressive po-
 “ verty of men of merit, who have preferred glory
 “ to the heaping up of riches. I look upon this as
 “ a most glorious act ; as an act by which a prince
 “ raises the most illustrious monuments of his royal
 “ magnificence, and offers the most solemn and ac-
 “ ceptable sacrifice to the Gods. Therefore, if you
 “ will

“ will allow me to assist you with my riches, I shall
 “ esteem it as a benefit received rather than be-
 “ stowed.

“ NEITHER would I make you this request, if CHAP.
 “ it was only to derive glory to myself, but disho- XIX.
 “ nor to you. Yet now, since you are not to re-
 “ compensate this favor by any treachery or deed un-
 “ worthy your strict virtue, why would you, with
 “ aversion and obstinacy, despise a small friendly
 “ present, which is offered you with the most affec-
 “ tionate views? For I want nothing else of you,
 “ but what may, nay ought, to be done by the best
 “ of men and the sincerest lover of his country;
 “ that you will bring the senate from that stubborn
 “ obstinacy into reasonable and more moderate views,
 “ by representing the case as it really is, that the
 “ prosecution of the war must be extremely danger-
 “ ous and prejudicial to yourselves, and cannot,
 “ without breach of faith and dishonor, be abandon-
 “ ed by me, who have promised my assistance to the
 “ Tarentines, and have come off conqueror in the
 “ first battle. Neither in truth have I any pleasure
 “ in fighting with you, whom I look upon as more
 “ deserving of my friendship than enmity; and be-
 “ sides, many affairs have in the mean time happen-
 “ ed, which require my presence, and make me de-
 “ sirous to return into my own kingdom. For this
 “ end I will give what security you shall demand,
 “ both to ensure you of the sincerity of my inten-
 “ tions, and also to remove the suspicions of others,
 “ if any perchance will deny, that kings can be safe-
 “ ly credited, because one or two, who had no sense
 “ of honesty, were so mad as to stand to their en-
 “ gagements and treaties no longer than they seem-
 “ ed advantageous, and as soon as there was an ap-
 “ pearance of reaping benefit by a change chose ra-
 “ ther to forego their faith than neglect their inte-
 “ rest. And when the peace is concluded, nothing
 “ could happen more agreeable to me, or more for
 “ our mutual benefit, than that you should sail with
 Vol. III. P “ me

CHAP. XIX. me into Epirus, there to hold the first rank among
 my favorites, have the next command to myself in
 time of war, and be partner of all my fortune. For
 I esteem the enjoyment of a brave and faithful
 friend, as the most valuable possession, and I imagine
 the pomp of a court, and the grandeur that attends
 the great affairs of a kingdom, suit your exalted
 genius. If therefore we shall go hand in hand in
 these things, and mutually assist each other, we shall
 easily obtain what men reckon the greatest felicity."

CHAP. XX. HERE the king having ended his discourse, Fa-
 bricius after a short silence began, "If in truth I have
 any merit, either in respect to my conduct in war
 or administration of civil affairs, it is needless
 for me to mention it, since you have given so much
 credit to the reports of others on that point. Nor
 is it necessary that I say any thing of my poverty,
 that being proprietor of a small spot of ground and
 a mean cottage, I live not by interest of money
 or labor of slaves, but by the toil of this body; for
 I likewise believe that you have been sufficiently
 informed of these things by the relations of other
 persons. But if you suspect that my poverty renders
 my condition inferior to that of any other Roman;
 truly whether you have of yourself formed this con-
 jecture, or by following the judgment of others, you
 are strangely mistaken. For while with contempt
 of wealth I practise virtue and goodness, I feel no
 misery; nor have I ever lamented my indigence,
 either in the administration of the publick or my
 own private affairs. For what reason have I to quar-
 rel with my fortune? None; unless I find fault with
 it, because in this my poverty, I enjoy, in my native
 country, all those things, which alone seem worthy
 the ambition of great and exalted minds, not only
 in an equal, but greater, proportion with the rich."

CHAP. XXI. FOR those offices, which with us are reckoned
 most honorable, are conferred upon me: I have
 the direction of the most dangerous wars commit-
 ted to me: am employed in the most splendid em-
 bassies:

“ baffies : have the charge of the most holy parts of
 “ our religion : am summoned to the senate, and con-
 “ sulted in the most weighty matters of state : many
 “ chearfully bestow praises on me, and imitate my
 “ conduct : I am not less esteemed than the principal
 “ men of our state : am looked upon by others as
 “ a pattern and example of virtue and glorious ac-
 “ quists : and in all these I expend no part of my
 “ own estate, no more does any other of my fel-
 “ low-citizens. For in other states, where gene-
 “ rally speaking private persons possess vast riches,
 “ while the publick revenues are but small, ma-
 “ gistrates maintain the dignity and splendor of their
 “ offices out of their own fortunes. Whereas the
 “ constitution of our state is very different, and in
 “ no respect burdensom to mens private estates. All
 “ that splendid and magnificent equipage, with which
 “ such of our citizens as are appointed for the nego-
 “ tiating important affairs, are adorned, is furnished
 “ at the public charge. By this we are all put upon
 “ a level, and the poorest is neither suffered to want
 “ any thing for the support either of his own or the
 “ public honor, and the rich can have nothing super-
 “ fluous. Since therefore I, who am the poorest of
 “ all her subjects, possess every valuable enjoyment
 “ as much as the wealthiest do, why ought I to
 “ complain of fortune ? Ought I to require of her to
 “ raise me to the pitch of kings, who have it in their
 “ power to hoard up vast heaps of gold.

CHAP.
XXI.

“ BUT let what I have said suffice as to my public
 “ capacity ; but as to my private life, my poverty is
 “ so far from being a burden or inconvenience to me,
 “ that, on the contrary, whenever I compare myself to
 “ the rich, my condition seems to me infinitely hap-
 “ pier ; and I number myself amongst those few,
 “ whose lot it is to enjoy all the felicity possible in
 “ this life ; and when thus ranked I feel the greatest
 “ inward delight, and am thankful for my poverty.
 “ For while I deem it idle and foolish to covet su-
 “ perfluity, and my little field, when well cultivated

CHAP.
XXII.


CHAP. “ and laid out, affords me all necessaries, I know
 XXII. “ not for what purpose I ought to be solicitous about
 “ greater wealth. For all nourishment is most plea-
 “ sant to me when seasoned with hunger ; and all
 “ drink grateful, when I am a dry. I procure my-
 “ self easy and quiet sleep by labor. If my clothes
 “ keep out cold I am satisfied with them : in hous-
 “ hold furniture I like that best, which is most fit
 “ and convenient for the use to which it is applied,
 “ and at the same time cheapest. Wherefore I should
 “ be doubly unjust, if I should accuse fortune for
 “ not having afforded me more riches, than my na-
 “ ture requires, which neither inspires me with a de-
 “ sire of superfluities, or dexterity to procure them.


CHAP. “ THEREFORE with this indigence of mine,
 XXIII. “ I look on myself as richer than the most opulent
 “ of other men, nay than even you yourself ; for I
 “ have so much, that I can desire no more ; as to you,
 “ would you have come over to Italy, if you had not
 “ thought yourself poor, notwithstanding you possess
 “ Epirus and other dominions ? Ay, but say you,
 “ wealth fairly enables us to do good to others ! and
 “ my poverty puts it out of my power to help any one !
 “ But truly this gives me no more trouble, than that
 “ I am not more than ordinary furnished with other
 “ things ; that God hath not granted me uncommon
 “ knowledge, nor the art of prophecy, for the be-
 “ nefit of those who want them ; nor many other ex-
 “ cellent endowments. And if I employ the talents
 “ I possess for the interest of my native state and
 “ friends ; if by assisting every man in every respect
 “ that I am capable, I suffer my good offices to ex-
 “ tend to all, I think hitherto I am free from crime
 “ on this score. Nor can you in justice call these
 “ things mean and trifling, which you pretend to set
 “ a high value upon, and are so ready to purchase at
 “ the expence of great treasure.

CHAP. “ BUT if great wealth is to be desired only for
 XXIV. “ the sake of relieving the necessities of the indigent,
 “ and in this respect the possession of riches make an
 “ ingredient

“ ingredient of one’s happiness, as you kings imagine,
 “ pray which would be my best method of acquiring
 “ them? to receive them from you in a dishonorable
 “ way, or, as formerly, when it was in my power to
 “ do it, by the most laudable means? My success in
 “ the service of our state afforded me the fairest op-
 “ portunities of enriching myself: besides many other
 “ instances, more especially in my consulate four years
 “ ago, when being sent with an army against the Sam-
 “ nites, Lucanians and Bruttians, I overran and pil-
 “ laged very extensive provinces; and having come off
 “ conqueror in several battles, I by storm took and
 “ demolished wealthy cities; out of the booty of all
 “ which after giving great largesses to the soldiers,
 “ and repaid private persons what they had lent the
 “ republic to defray the expence of the war, I put
 “ the overplus, which amounted to four hundred
 “ talents, into the public treasury. Now therefore,
 “ since I scorned to make myself rich by spoils that
 “ were in my hands, which I might have done with
 “ justice and honor; and, after the example of Va-
 “ lerijs Poplicola and many others, who have rais-
 “ ed the Roman state to her present pitch of gran-
 “ deur, preferred glory to riches, shall I accept
 “ a bribe from you, despising the most honorable
 “ opportunities of enriching myself, and embracing
 “ one replete with shame and danger? Besides I
 “ could with freedom and delight have expended
 “ that wealth to some laudable and equitable pur-
 “ poses; but could not hereafter use the money you
 “ now offer me.

“ FOR what money comes by another person’s
 “ bounty, is to be looked on as a loan rather than
 “ a present, and lyes heavy on a generous and great
 “ mind, till he can repay it, notwithstanding it was
 “ given and received under the color of kindness,
 “ friendship, or benevolence. In fine, what do you
 “ think would be the consequence, if upon it’s be-
 “ ing noised abroad (and indeed it could not be con-
 “ cealed) those magistrates who with us exercise an

CHAP. XXV.  office vested with most ample authority for the cognizance of morals, whom we call censors from their power of enquiring into the lives of citizens, and who use to fine those who abandon the institutions of their country, should order me to make my defence to an indictment for taking bribes?" Many authors add, that Pyrrhus, from a sense that the purchase of so much merit could never be too dear, made a more severe trial of his self-denial and constancy of mind. After other large promises, he even offered him part of his kingdom. But it made no farther impression upon the Roman, than to make him declare, "he could not unravel the king's views in it." For he said to him, "If you look upon me as a bad man, why do you court me? if as honest, why would you bribe me?" and then added, "that supposing Pyrrhus should succeed in his designs, it would prove neither a pleasant nor advantageous business to him; for his blunt freedom would disgust both the king's favorites and the king himself; and if the Epirotes should once experience his justice and self-denial, they would desert the king and set up him."

CHAP. XXVI.  ALL which facts, and what I am now to add, being delivered by many historians, I imagined would be both convenient and of use to collect and relate, in order to give a full view of the dispositions and sentiments of these men, by whose means the Roman state, being supported in the most pressing calamities, rose to so insuperable a pitch of dominion and grandeur; and that, by a remarkable instance, it might more easily be comprehended, what course of action men ought to follow, to gain the admiration of future ages, and transmit a state in a better and more flourishing condition to their posterity, than that wherein they themselves received it from their ancestors. We are informed then, that the king, having heard him talk in this manner, desisted from farther trial of his virtue at that time. But next day he ordered Fabricius to be called to him, and in order to frighten

frighten him, having placed an elephant behind a curtain at their backs, as they were discoursing together, the curtain was drawn up all of a sudden at the command of the king, and the beast laid his trunk upon Fabricius's head, and set up a terrible noise and braying. But the undaunted hero turned about very calmly and smiling said; "Your gold could not tempt me yesterday, nor hath your beast affrighted me to day."

CHAP.
XXVI.

AFTERWARDS being set down to supper he heard Cineas discourse of the sages of Greece to this effect, "that the sect of Epicureans made the supreme good consist in pleasure, and maintained that the management of public affairs was the greatest bane of happiness: and thought the Gods lived in the same manner, without taking any care of human affairs, without being angry with the wicked or loving the virtuous, spending their time solely in indolence and pleasure." Upon which it is said Fabricius cried out, "Ye Gods grant that Pyrrhus and the Samnites may be firmly attached to no other philosophy, as long as they are at war with the Romans." Such were the morals of these ages! such the emulation among the great men, not to excel in wealth and luxury, but in valor, prudence, patience, and love of their country! Nor were such speeches mere sallies of passion, or premeditated for the time on purpose to cover deceit; but these great men, who are rather to be admired than imitated in our days, verified their words by the constant tenor of their lives.

CHAP.
XXVII.

THE same Fabricius, whose whole sideboard of plate consisted only of a silver saltseller, and a little dish which stood on a stool of cornel wood, when the Samnite embassadors brought him money and fine furniture, carried his hands wide open to his ears, thence to his eyes, nose, mouth, throat, and at last down to his belly, saying, "While I can govern these, I shall want nothing; but do ye carry back the money to them who need it." Finally he

CHAP.
XXVIII.

CHAP.
XXVIII.

lived all his lifetime in such a manner, that he did not leave as much behind him as was sufficient for a dowry to his daughters: but it was a glorious poverty; for the senate being ashamed to let them live in want, whilst their father was not ashamed to leave them so, paid their portions out of the public treasury. But at that time the other principal senators lived almost in the same virtuous and moderate manner. Among them was Q. Fabius Maximus, who had often been general in chief, and who after having been once censor refused to serve that office a second time, saying, “ it was not for the interest of the republic, “ that the same men should be often created censors.” The people of Rome likewise gave the same grateful testimony of their regard to his poverty and love of his country, as they had done to Fabricius; for at his death they collected as much money, as enabled his son Q. Gurgus to give a dole and entertainment to the people.

CHAP.
XXIX.

FROM the same greatness of mind did Curius despise the presents offered him by the Sabines in like manner as Fabricius had done those of the Samnites. Æmilius Papus, who had been Fabricius's colleague in several magistracies, Tib. Coruncanius, and other illustrious men, maintained during their lives a strict friendship and familiarity founded on a similitude of manners; so that the poet, who said, “ the Roman state had been supported by men “ and maxims entirely honest,” seems to have hit on the real complexion of those times. Pyrrhus, having seriously pondered and weighed these circumstances, became more desirous of amicably putting an end to the war with this nation, and therefore dismissed immediately two hundred of the prisoners without any ransom, giving leave to all the rest who pleased to go to Rome and celebrate the Saturnalia, which were then near at hand; relying solely on the faith of Fabricius, who engaged, “ that if peace was not “ concluded in the mean time, they should return “ at the end of these feasts.” And such was the strict authority of the senate, and honorable principles of


of each of the prisoners at that time, that on the day appointed by the fathers they all returned to Pyrrhus, after they had in vain attempted to make an impression on the minds of their countrymen who were fully determined against a peace.


FOR this politic prince, thinking he ought to take advantage of that favorable moment, when their enraged minds, being softened by the sight of their dearest relations, and a strong desire of keeping them with them, would be more inclined to lay aside all hostile resentment, determined to send an embassy to Rome, to conclude a treaty of peace and alliance on the same conditions which he had proposed to Fabricius when he was with him. His demands were “ that the Tarentines should be included “ in the same treaty ; the other Greeks, that inhabited Italy, should live free and under their own laws ; whatever had been taken by the Romans from the Samnites, Apulians, Lucanians and Brutians, should be restored ; and that he should restore the Roman prisoners without ransom.” Cineas, whom we have already mentioned, was then with Pyrrhus. He was excellently skilled in politics, honest in his heart and intentions, and by study and practice had cultivated his naturally pregnant genius till he had attained a most persuasive eloquence. These accomplishments exceedingly endeared him to the king, who often said, “ he had subdued more towns “ by Cineas’s eloquence, than by his own arms.”


CHAP.
XXX.

WHEN this minister arrived at Rome in quality of ambassador, he cunningly delayed having an audience of the senate, till he had sent presents to all the families of distinction, in Pyrrhus’s name. At last being introduced into the senate house, after having at large extolled “ the virtue of his master “ and his great affection to the Romans,” and displayed the equity of those terms he had proposed, great part of the senate were so far persuaded, that they were at a loss whether to accept them or not. For besides other things, “ he promised, in case “ they

CHAP.
XXXI.

CHAP. XXXI.  “ they would desist from attacking his allies, to give
 “ them such powerful assistance as would enable them
 “ with ease to make themselves masters of the rest
 “ of Italy.” But as the fathers were extremely anxious about the issue of this important affair, they continued to deliberate on it many days, which occasioned a suspicion and report’s being spread, that a peace would be concluded. Upon which Appius Claudius, who on account of his old age and want of sight had long refrained from coming to the house, ordered himself immediately to be carried in a chair to the senate, where at first sight he was received by his sons and sons-in-law, who standing round him with marks of honor and dutiful respect, conducted him to a place suitable to his dignity.

CHAP. XXXII.  THERE, whilst all were silent on account of the strangeness of the thing as well as veneration for the man, and listening to hear what had moved him to come to the senate after so long absence ; he begun with mentioning his infirmities. He said, “ his
 “ blindness had hitherto been matter of great grief
 “ to him, but now he was not only overjoyed at
 “ it, because he could not see what was acted, but
 “ even extremely concerned, that he was not deaf
 “ too, that he might not be obliged to hear things
 “ so shameful and unworthy the Roman name. Whether has your former wisdom fled ? to what level
 “ are your spirits sunk ? You used formerly to say to
 “ one another, when you heard the praises of Alexander of Macedon, who was celebrated as an invincible prince, that his renown was to be attributed
 “ rather to his good fortune than bravery ; for had
 “ fate obliged him to have made war with the Romans, the event would have been quite different,
 “ and the world had another opinion of him. But
 “ now take notice how much you have degenerated
 “ from that greatness of soul.

CHAP. XXXIII.  “ YOU then were confident of being an overmatch for the Macedonians ; but now you are
 “ afraid of the Molossians and Chaonians, who have
 “ always

“ always been a prey to the Macedonians. You
 “ despised Alexander, and tremble at the name of
 “ Pyrrhus, not only Alexander’s vassal, but the vas-
 “ sal of one of his vassals, and who came over
 “ into Italy rather to avoid real enemies than in quest
 “ of new ones, with an intention forsooth of gain-
 “ ing an empire to the Romans, with those very
 “ troops wherewith he was not able to keep the
 “ least part of Macedonia. Unless therefore we
 “ drive him hence with some eminent loss, we may
 “ be assured, other people, in just contempt of us,
 “ will boldly come into Italy as to a booty prepared
 “ to their hands. For how can the world think other-
 “ wise of us than as the greatest poltroons, if Pyr-
 “ rhus, being received into our friendship, shall even
 “ gain this reward of the affront he has offered us, as
 “ to render the Romans the laughing stock of the
 “ Tarentines and Samnites?” This was the main
 purport of the speech, which as soon as pronoun-
 ced by Appius so exasperated the minds of all,
 that, following his severe example, they unanimou-
 sly resolved, “ to prosecute the war,” and com-
 manded “ Cineas to leave the city that day,
 “ with instructions to tell Pyrrhus, that they would
 “ neither admit him into the city (which had
 “ likewise been desired) nor treat with him of
 “ peace and alliance, till he had first evacuated
 “ Italy.”

CHAP.
XXXIII.

THEN, by the advice of the same Appius, an
 equally rigorous decree was passed on the prisoners.
 For the senate ordered, “ that they should neither
 “ be led against Pyrrhus, nor kept all together
 “ in one place ; but some to be sent into one gari-
 “ son and some into another ; for the greater dis-
 “ grace altering their rank in fighting, for the horse-
 “ men were to be degraded to serve on foot, and
 “ those foot who had served in the legions, to fight
 “ amongst the light armed ; and none of them to
 “ recover their former rank, till they should bring
 “ off the spoils of two enemies slain by them.” It

CHAP.
XXXIV.

CHAP. is said that when the ambassadors returned with this
 XXXIV. resolute answer, that Pyrrhus amazed at the constancy of the Romans, asked Cineas, “ what sort of
 “ a senate and what sort of a city he had seen ?” To which he is said to have replied, “ that in truth
 “ the city appeared like a temple, and the senate
 “ like an assembly of kings.” Some think that after this Fabricius came on an embassy to the king ; but besides the testimony of other authors, they might easily be convinced of their mistake, by an exact investigation of the dates of the facts. Thus all hopes of peace vanishing, they bent their whole thoughts towards war, and both sides were very busily employed all the winter in making preparations with the greatest diligence.

CHAP. I AM of opinion this was the time, when they
 XXXV. say Pyrrhus, in order to prevent shipwrecks, and make a more easy passage for the Italians and Epirotes to come to each other’s assistance, formed the scheme of carrying a bridge from Hydruntum^a, at which place Italy runs far into the sea, to Apollonia, a town situated on the opposite shore, for the space of fifty miles ; for thereabouts the coasts of Italy and Greece are at so great a distance from each other. It is said that M. Terentius Varro formed the same project afterwards, when in quality of lieutenant to Cn. Magnus, he guarded the Sicilian and Ionian seas in the war with the pirates. In the mean time Tib. Coruncanius the consul triumphed, on the first of February, over the Volsinienſes and Vulcientians, both people of Hetruria. The census held this year was very remarkable, as it was the first time a censor of plebeian extraction had ever performed that ceremony. The number of citizens enrolled amounted to two hundred seventy-eight thousand two hundred and twenty-two. It is very certain that at this time Fabius Maximus used to be chosen prince of the senate ; and we are led to conjecture, that his son surnamed Gurges was then censor ; but are sure that

^a Now a paltry town in Calabria, and called by the natives *Otranto*.

the name of Cn. Domitius, for having completed the lustrum and enlarged the privileges of the people, became very famous.

BUT Pyrrhus, having assembled the troops of his allies, took the field first and marched into Apulia, where he took several towns, some by storm and some by surrendry. The new consuls P. Sulpicius Saverrio and P. Decius Mus, marched against him with two consular armies, and encamped over-against him near a city of Apulia called Asculum^a, a name likewise given to a city in Picenum. There was no doubt of their coming to an action; but they were hindered for some days as well by a deep and rapid river, which divided the two armies, as by their mutual fears. For the fortune of the former battle and the victorious Pyrrhus terrified the Romans; while they were formidable to the Epirotes on account of their obstinacy in battle, and the name of one of the consuls which was always fatal to enemies troops. For a report had been spread abroad, that P. Decius, after the example of his father and grandfather, intended to purchase victory for his countrymen with his own death; and the issue of these battles wherein they fell, made the threatnings of Decius devoting himself terrible to all.

PYRRHUS looking on this as a matter by no means to be slighted, assembled his troops and told them plainly “ that the Goddess Tellus, and the infernal deities, who were invoked in these devotions, never determined the issue of battles; that the Gods ought not to be deemed so unjust, as to alter and dispose of the fate of armies, for the sake of one madman: victories were not obtained by legerdemain and forcery, but by fighting bravely; this was testified by the Romans themselves, who did not use to oppose their enemies with troops of wizards and priests, but with battalions of armed men. Yet because the idle fooleries of superstition make greater impression upon ignorant

CHAP.

XXXVI.

P. Sulp. Saverrio and
P. Dec. Mus
consuls.
Y. of R. 473.
B. J. C. 279.

CHAP.

XXXVII.

^a Now Ascoli, near the Apennines, not far from the city of Arpi.

“ minds,

CHAP. “ minds, than real causes of terror do,” by describ-
 XXXVII. ing the habit, in which the former Decii had devoted
 themselves, he shewed “ that this fear might
 “ be dispelled;” and advised his men, “ in case
 “ they should meet any one distinguished by this
 “ garb, not to throw their darts at him but to take
 “ him alive.” At the same time he sent to tell De-
 cius, “ to cease playing the fool with armed men,
 “ for his scheme would not succeed; and if he should
 “ fall into his hands alive, he would perhaps suffer
 “ more severely, than he desired.”

CHAP. THE consuls answered, “ that they had suffi-
 XXXVIII. cient confidence in their arms, and needed no such
 desperate means of assistance. And to assure him
 thereof, they left it in his option, either to pass
 the river himself,” which we have already ob-
 served run between the two armies, “ or wait on
 “ his side for the Romans; for they would either
 “ retire to leave the king a safe passage, or, if he
 “ would retire, they would come over; in order to
 “ shew him, that engaging with their whole force,
 “ they relied on nothing else for victory, than
 “ their strength and courage.” Pyrrhus was ashamed
 to shew any sign of fear or suspense; wherefore he
 accepted the proposal and next day gave the ene-
 my leave to pass the river. The Romans dread
 of the elephants had by this time abated of itself, by
 the sight of them having become familiar to them,
 besides their being certain, by an instance in the for-
 mer battle, that their trunks might be cut off; for
 C. Minucius, the right hand spearman of the fourth
 legion, had cut off the proboscis of an elephant at
 one stroke of his sword. But they then likewise con-
 trived other safer means of defence. They got cha-
 riots, which were drawn by horses covered with iron
 plates, and made a formidable appearance by reason
 of poles pointed with iron with which they were sur-
 rounded. In them they placed soldiers to repel the at-
 tack of these animals by throwing darts or fire at them.

BEING thus prepared the Roman legions passed the river. Pyrrhus, on the other hand, drew up his army in battalia, according to the art of forming troops, which he understood perfectly, and with a singular skill and address, in which he was esteemed to excel all other generals of that age. Therefore, after considering the nature of the ground, which, on account of it's unevenness and being full of bushes, was only fit for infantry to act on, he placed his cavalry and elephants as a reserve in the rear; posted the Samnite auxiliaries and his own men in the right wing, and ordered the Bruttians, Lucanians and Salentines to form the left, while he disposed the Tarentines, whose valor he less relied on, in the centre. The consuls first line consisted of the legions, with the light-armed auxiliaries conveniently mixed with them; and they had formed their bodies of reserve with equal skill and address. The cavalry was posted on the wings, but so as not to incommode the foot, and yet be ready to act, if opportunity offered. As it is certain both armies consisted of forty thousand men each, the battle was fought with that obstinacy, which might be expected from two armies, equal in courage and numbers ^a. Night put an end to it, before victory declared for either side.

CHAP.
XXXIX.

NEXT morning Pyrrhus, after having secured all the difficult passes with guards, forced the Romans to come down into plainer ground, where his elephants were of some use to him. For having suddenly led them on in a different part of the battle than that where the chariots stood ready to oppose them, they frightened and put to flight the Roman horse, as they had done in the former battle, but did very little damage to the foot. The accounts of this battle are very different. Some writers affirm, "that the Romans got the victory and even by an accident; for some cohorts being detached by the king against the Apulians, who were rifling his baggage, their going off looked to the other

CHAP.
XL.^a Plutarch.

" troops

CHAP. XL.
 “troops like a flight, and this mistake struck the king’s
 “soldiers with terror and consternation, and made
 “them all fly.” It is likewise said that a great number
 of men were slain; “twenty thousand in Pyrrhus’s
 “army, and the loss on the side of the conquerors a-
 “mounted to five thousand. ^a The king being run
 “through the arm with a lance, when he could not
 “stop the fugitives, was carried out of the field by
 “his guards, almost the last man. The enemy lost
 “fifty-three standards and the Romans eleven. And
 “Fabricius, who was lieutenant general to one
 “of the consuls, was likewise wounded.”

CHAP. XLI.
 ON the other hand other historians say, “that
 “the success of this and the former battle were the
 “same, and the Romans, being secured by the
 “nearness of their camp, were indeed the less sen-
 “sible of their loss; yet retreated in great confusion
 “after having lost six thousand men; there fell of
 “Pyrrhus’s troops three thousand five hundred and
 “five, which is the number,” according to Hierony-
 mus ^b, “recorded in the king’s journal.” And not
 only this great difference, but even contradiction
 among historians greatly induces me to think those
 ought to be credited, who say it was a drawn battle.
 For it is usual, when both sides come off with equal
 loss, for both to claim the victory; and these differ-
 ent claims are rashly recorded, through the inatten-
 tion of some, and infidelity of other historians; which
 is a heinous crime as well as a great discredit to those,
 who instead of true and authentic facts transmit to
 posterity either idle rumors and hearsays, or what
 they basely forge because they wish it had been so.

CHAP. XLII.
 FOR this reason, those annals give the most pro-
 bable account, which say ^a, “that there was but one
 “battle fought at Asculum; and that after a most
 “obstinate conflict and terrible slaughter on both
 “sides, with great difficulty the battle was, at sun-
 “set, put an end to, occasioned by the king’s wound
 “and the loss of his baggage which was carried off.

^a Eutropius, and Dionys. Hal.^a Dion. Hal.^b As quoted by Plutarch.

“ That a retreat was sounded in both armies, after CHAP.
“ they had each lost about fifteen thousand men. XLII.

“ And that it was at this time Pyrrhus answered one
“ who congratulated him on his victory, WE SHALL
“ BE QUITE UNDONE IF THE ROMANS MUST BE
“ DEFEATED A SECOND TIME IN THIS MAN-
“ NER.” This opinion is likewise corroborated by
what followed after the battle. For Pyrrhus went to
Tarentum, and the consuls, without following the
enemy, distributed their troops into winter quarters
through the towns of Apulia, when both the season
of the year, and the state of the war required them
to prosecute so glorious a victory : and in truth the
season would easily have suffered, and the state of the
war without question should have enforced the taking
this step. Farther, I find these consuls did not tri-
umph, and many are of opinion that P. Decius devot-
ed himself in that battle; and after the example of his
father and grandfather, who died in the same way, he
offer’d the third successive sacrifice out of that fa-
mily, for the safety of the republic. And this cir-
cumstance I should not have thought worth the while
either to mention or refute, since all historians pass
it over in silence, had not that eminent writer M.
Tullius Cicero asserted it in more than one place of
his philosophical writings ^a.

WHATEVER was the event of the battle of CHAP.
Asculum, there was no other action the rest of the XLIII.
year ; but both sides were concerting measures and
making preparations with great application all the
time. Pyrrhus having lost a great part of his veteran
troops, and most of his generals and favorites, sent or-
ders to Epirus, to transmit him men and money in
the beginning of the spring. But before that fleet
could be fitted out, some new prospect arising made
the king alter his designs. He had formerly been in
possession of Macedonia which he had taken from De-
metrius, and lost it again, when Lyfimachus wrested

^a Tusc. 1. 37. De Fin. 2. 19.

it from him by force of arms, and now he seemed to have an opportunity of recovering it again by the death of Ptolomy Ceraunus, who was killed by the Gauls, while Pyrrhus was carrying on the war in Italy, and left his kingdom in great confusion, and none to take possession of it. These reasons induced him not to leave Epirus bare of troops, lest it should be exposed to the hostilities of the Gauls, who were still destroying it's neighboring country Macedonia with fire and sword. Yet for all this he did not go to Sicily at this time, because other reasons determined him against it, as we shall shew in the sequel.

CHAP.
XLIV.

C. Fab. Lus-
cinus and
Q. Æmil.
Papus
consuls.
Y. of R. 474.
B. J. C. 278.

THE winter being spent in this busy manner, the new consuls C. Fabricius Luscinus and Q. Æmilius Papus, who had formerly been colleagues in the consulate ^a, came to take the command of the army. When Pyrrhus was informed of this he on his side led forth his troops, and resolved to watch the enemies motions. Thus being encamped very near one another, a very remarkable incident happened, which several historians relate without any material difference. One Timochares, a native of Ambracia, and one of the king's chief favorites, came privately to the consul Fabricius, and promised to poison the king, provided he had a reward proportioned to the service. For he imagined he could effect it by means of his sons, who were of the number of his cupbearers. Though Fabricius abhorred the treason, yet he wrote the affair to the senate. They sent ambassadors to Pyrrhus, not indeed to discover the treachery of Timochares, who really meant to oblige the Romans, but to warn the king in general, “to be more careful of his person, and consider “the character and integrity of the men he employed in his service.” Thus we find the story related by Valerius Antias ^b.

^a See book xii. chap. v. of this vol. p. 157.

Aul. Gellius, book 3. and Valer. Maximus.

^b Valerius Antias, as quoted by

BUT Claudius Quadrigarius^a, instead of Timochares substitutes “ Nicias as the man who promised
 “ to put this villainy in execution, and says that the
 “ consuls not the senate sent the embassadors.” He
 likewise relates the contents of their letters, where-
 in discovering Nicias’s designs, they tell the king,
 “ that they would not employ against him bribes
 “ and treachery, but valor and arms; and de-
 “ fired to preserve him from all traiterous designs,
 “ hoping he would be a glorious subject of their vic-
 “ tory and triumph.” Some authors relate, “ that
 “ the king’s physician either came in person^b or sent
 “ letters relating to this affair to Fabricius, and upon
 “ his discovery of it to the king, the physician was
 “ hanged.” Though these accounts are not well
 ascertained, yet it is certain they are mistaken who
 say that the physician was sent back to the king by
 Curius^c. The tradition is, that Pyrrhus, surprized
 at this instance of unparallel’d generosity, cried out,
 “ It is easier to turn the sun out of his stated course,
 “ than to divert Fabricius from the paths of justice
 “ and probity.” And that he might not seem to
 be outdone in generosity, he immediately sent the
 Romans back all the prisoners he had; and dispatch-
 ed Cineas a second time to obtain a treaty of peace
 and alliance.

CHAP.
XLV.

THE fathers did not think it honorable, either
 to accept of a present from an enemy, or to seem to
 have abhorred an act of villainy rather for the sake
 of gain, than out of love of virtue; and therefore
 in return to the favor of restoring their prisoners,
 they sent back an equal number of Tarentines and
 Samnites. This instance of moderation in the prin-
 cipal body of the state was immediately followed by
 a most resolute piece of self-denial in private men,
 which fame has represented in a most conspicuous
 light; for Cineas having brought many and valuable

CHAP
XLVI.^a Apud Aul. Gellius, book 3. c. 8.^b Plutarch in his life of Pyrrhus.^c Florus.

CHAP.

XLVI.

presents from Pyrrhus for the Romans of both sexes, they were refused with scorn not only by the men but by the women too. And at this time, though after being despised by those to whom they were first offered, they were carried about to one after another, yet there could not be found either a single man or woman, who was so mean-spirited or covetous, as to let the king's presents be brought within the doors of their houses^a. Then the former answer was returned to the ambassadors, “that the Roman people would treat Pyrrhus as an enemy, till he should depart out of Italy.” This very much embarrassed the king; and as he had no great stomach to continue the war, and was very desirous to quit it without deriving any dishonor to himself, to extricate himself from his perplexity he made a handle of his expedition into Sicily, which at last, after long doubting and deliberation, he resolved to undertake. By this means he hoped both honorably to get rid of the Romans, and make himself master of a most wealthy island; at the same time that he longed extremely to take his revenge of the Carthaginians, who had given the first provocation.

CHAP.

XLVII.

FOR they, a little beforehand suspecting the king's designs, had sent out their general Mago with a fleet of a hundred and twenty sail of ships under pretext, “of bringing foreign succors to the Roman people against a foreign enemy.” And though the Romans did not use their assistance, and the senate replied to them, “that it was their custom only to undertake such wars, as they were able to carry on with their own troops,” yet the treaty between the two states was renewed a fourth time. To the former articles this was added, “that whether the Romans or Carthaginians should make a treaty with Pyrrhus, it should be with this express exception, that both should be left at liberty to assist each other, whichever of them

^a Justin book 18. Val. Max. book 4.

“should

“ should be attacked. And that whenever any of
 “ them stood in need of aid, each should pay their
 “ own troops, the Carthaginians furnish ships, and
 “ assist the Romans by sea, but should not be obliged
 “ to fight at land without their own consent.”

THE treaty being thus concluded, Mago came
 to Pyrrhus under pretext of making peace with him,
 but in reality to pry into the designs of that monarch,
 who, the Carthaginians had heard, was invited into
 Sicily : and they had offered the aid of their fleet to
 the Romans not so much out of affection and con-
 cern for them, as to involve Pyrrhus so deep in the
 war in Italy, that he should not be able to ruin their
 affairs in Sicily, which were in a flourishing condition
 through the great success of their arms. They like-
 wise at that time guarded the passage into that island
 with a great fleet under pretext of besieging Regium,
 but in truth to obstruct Pyrrhus who was bent upon
 going thither. For these reasons therefore, he ap-
 plied his mind wholly to the expedition into Sicily,
 being mightily encouraged thereunto both by the
 present posture of affairs, and also by embassies from
 thence, which came one on the back of another, and
 assured him “ that the whole inhabitants with one
 “ consent desired him to come, solely relying on
 “ him for relief from those calamities, which seem-
 “ ed greater than any they had ever before strug-
 “ gled with.”

CHAP.
 XLVIII.

FOR after the lamentable rather than dishonor-
 able death of Agathocles, one Mœno, a native of
 Ægesta a city of Sicily, who had also poisoned that
 king, aspiring to the throne, and being banished Sy-
 racuse by the prætor Hiceta, had put himself under
 the protection of the Carthaginians. This laid the
 foundation of a terrible war, which proved very un-
 fortunate to the Syracusans, but, by some private
 means, strengthened the power of Hiceta ; who after-
 wards turning his arms against Phintias the Agri-
 gentine, held the sovereignty of the island though

CHAP.
 XLIX.

CHAP. in a very unsettled condition, till at last it was wrest-
 XLIX. ed from him, after he had been three years in pos-
 session of it, by the bravery of one Thenio. Then
 Sosistratus, a nobleman of Syracuse, appeared against
 Thenio, who attempted to maintain himself in the
 sovereignty. These two had long war with one an-
 other, while Thenio was master of that island which
 they called Nafus^a, and was part of Syracuse, and
 Sosistratus reigned absolute over the rest of the town.
 At last, when both parties saw that these quarrels
 threatned their common ruin, they by mutual con-
 sent determined to call in Pyrrhus, who, being son-in-
 law to Agathocles, and having had a son by Lanassa,
 was the next in succession, and was likewise looked
 upon, by reason of his courage and power, as a per-
 son capable of settling the affairs of Sicily.

CHAP. WITH them joined the principal men of Agri-
 L. gentum and Leontium, who with the offer of the
 sovereignty of their own cities, and also of the whole
 island, unanimously entreated him, “to come over
 “into Sicily with all expedition, by his presence
 “relieve their distressed state, and preserve their
 “liberty, which was oppressed by the arms of bar-
 “barians.” For the Carthaginians, having laid waste
 the lands of the Syracusans, likewise invested their
 town by sea and land, with a fleet of one hundred
 ships, and an army of fifty thousand foot. Where-
 fore Pyrrhus, thinking he could no longer delay this
 expedition, sent Cineas before, whose address and
 fidelity he was accustomed to rely much upon, to
 enter into terms and conditions of peace and alliance
 with the states of Sicily. He himself consoled his
 allies, who were very uneasy at his going away, by
 promising “that if they should be hard pressed by
 “the Romans, he would come in time to their as-
 “sistance from an island, which was very near them,
 “and would be better able to aid them by the acces-
 “sion of new allies.” But when he was leaving a

^a *Ortygia*, it was separated from the rest of the city by an arm of the sea,
 garison

garison in Tarentum, the inhabitants in great perplexity beg'd of him "either to aid them according as he had promised in the articles whereunto he had subscribed, or at least leave their city free." Yet they could obtain neither; for Pyrrhus, without giving them a satisfactory answer, only ordered them "to wait his time."

WHILE the king of Epirus was thus employ'd, the consuls harassed their other enemies with greater ease. For I find that they succeeded against the Hetrurians, Lucanians, Bruttians and Samnites. But that they had less action with the Hetrurians appears from their not triumphing over them. And I imagine that they had not war with that whole nation, but with one or two cantons of it, which, upon the earnest solicitation of the Samnites, who felt themselves miserably exposed by the departure of Pyrrhus, had again taken up the arms, which they had lately laid down, against the Romans. As the war with the other nations was more dangerous, so was the victory proportionably more glorious. The consul, C. Fabricius, his colleague being gone, as is conjectured, to carry on the war in Hetruria, because one consular army seemed sufficient after the departure of the Epirotes, defeated the Lucanians, Bruttians, Tarentines and Samnites. He made a league with several states amongst which was Heraclea, and triumphed over all the abovementioned people, before the fifth of December.

THEN the comitia were held, and P. Cornelius Rufinus and C. Junius Brutus, both a second time, were appointed consuls for the following year. Other noblemen stood in competition with Rufinus, but he carried his election by the interest of Fabricius, who, in regard to the present situation of the state, prefer'd the safety of his country to private animosities. For these two were at variance on account of the difference of their manners: Fabricius, being incapable of being influenced by money, was actu-

CHAP.
LI.

CHAP.
LII.

P. Corn.
Rufinus and
C. Junius
Brutus
consuls,
Y. of R. 475.
B. J. C. 277.

CHAP. acted solely by a principle of promoting the common
 LII. good, while Rufinus, being avaricious, acted and
 ~~~~~ designed many things only out of a view to his private interest. Nevertheless, as he was otherwise a good and active general, Fabricius thought he ought to be preferred to his competitors, who were far inferior to him in military skill and experience. It is moreover said, that when Rufinus thanked him for his favor, “in making him consul, especially  
 “for so dangerous and important a war, though  
 “he was at variance with him,” he answered,  
 “be not surprized, for I chuse rather to be  
 “fleeced by a consul, than sold by an enemy.” For there were yet remaining very dangerous wars in Italy, and Pyrrhus’s easily carrying all before him in Sicily, where he was now arrived, gave them just cause to fear, that he, reinforced by the troops of this powerful island, would return a very formidable enemy to Rome.

End of the THIRTEENTH BOOK.



JOHN



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JOHN FREINSHEIM'S  
SUPPLEMENT  
TO THE  
ROMAN HISTORY  
BY

TITUS LIVIUS of Padua.

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DECADE II. BOOK XIV.

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*Pyrrhus passes over into Italy. Amongst other prodigies the statue of Jupiter Capitolinus being thrown down by lightning, it's head which was missing is found by the haruspices. Curius Dentatus is the first, who, when he was making the levies, sold the effects of a person that refused to answer when he was called. He defeats Pyrrhus, who returns from Sicily into Italy, and drives him out of that country. Fabricius the censor, degrades P. Cornelius Rufinus, a man of consular dignity, from being a senator, because he had ten pound weight of plate. A lustrum held by the censors, and the number of citizens enrolled amounts to two hundred seventy-one thousand two hundred and twenty-four. An alliance made with Ptolemy king of Egypt. Sextilia, a vestal virgin, convicted of incontinence, is buried alive. Colonies settled at Possidonia and Cosa. A Carthaginian fleet comes to the assistance of the Mamertines, a plain violation of the treaty between the former and the Romans. Besides, this book contains the victories over the Lucanians, Samnites and Bruttians, and the death of king Pyrrhus.*

**A** MIDST these transactions in Italy, Pyrrhus CHAP.  
embarked his army and elephants and sailed 1.  
from the port of Tarentum into Sicily, after he had  
been two years and four months in Italy. He was  
pilotted



CHAP.

I.

pilotted in by Thenio, who had met him with a fleet, and was received with the greatest acclamations by the Sicilians, who immediately put into his hands their towns, armies, public treasures and ships. And by this means he in a short time became master of all the Greek cities, and by force of arms reduced all that were under the dominion of the Carthaginians, except the single town of Lilybæum<sup>a</sup>, which they, assisted by the advantageous situation of the place, kept against Pyrrhus, who attacked it in vain. Having from these successes, not without reasonable ground, formed ambitious hopes, he thought of leaving his hereditary dominions to his eldest son, and of his other two to make one king of Italy, and the other of Sicily.

CHAP.

II.

THIS king had at that time a great reputation, and possessed excellent qualities; and the Sicilians, having been for many years oppressed with civil and foreign wars, and, what is more hurtful than both, with tyranny, seemed indeed ready with joy to accept even of a tolerable prince. But soon after by loading them with taxes against their will, and putting the most powerful men among them to death, he rendered himself extremely odious. Besides they were exasperated by the avarice and arrogance of his ministers, whose vices did him in every respect as much prejudice as his own. So that next to what ought to be the chief and principal care of princes, “to be good themselves,” they can have no more laudable or salutary concern, than chusing men of worth for their favorites. For as in private life each man is hated for his own proper faults, even the vices of others are imputed to princes. But these things happened afterwards.

CHAP.

III.

BUT at this time as the affections of that people were warm towards him, after he had been received and entertained with the greatest honor, first by Tyn-dario, chief of the Tauromenii<sup>a</sup>, in whose part of the

<sup>a</sup> No traces of it remain. It stood on the ruins of old Naxos, lay between Messana and Catana, and is now

<sup>a</sup> Their capital Tauromenium, built called *Taormina*.





island he had first landed, and then by the people of Catana<sup>b</sup>, he marched with his land army towards Syracuse; ordering his fleet to sail round to that city, keeping close in shore, drawn up in line and ready to fight; for it was probable the Carthaginian fleet would not suffer them to enter it, without risking a battle. But it happen'd that thirty of that enemy's ships had left their main fleet and gone upon other expeditions; and as they were not yet returned, the Carthaginian admiral declined hazard- ing an engagement with those that were left. Having thus entered without the least opposition, Thenio and Sofistratus delivered up to him the public treasures, twenty decked ships, twenty galleys, and the magazines of arms, engines and other warlike implements. While he was thus employed embassadors came from the Leontines<sup>c</sup>, the chief person among whom, named Heraclidas, offered him their city, besides a body of four thousand foot and five hundred horse. Other towns likewise readily put themselves in his hands. Thus success flowed like a torrent in upon him. Pyrrhus received and entertained them in the most obliging manner, and having thereby conciliated all their affections, sent each back to their own cities, his mind being then engaged with more extensive views; for he resolved, if he succeeded at the present rate, even to pass over into Africa.



BUT the affairs of his allies in Italy did not look with so favorable an aspect. For in the absence of the king and his best troops, the Romans pressed them forer and forer every day; nor was Milo, who had been left at Tarentum with a part of his forces, strong enough to protect them. Yet thus far he had been of service, that upon his account both consuls put off their attack upon the Tarentines for the present, and turned their arms

<sup>b</sup> Or Catina, it lay at the foot of mount Ætna.

<sup>c</sup> They inhabited the present Leontini. It was founded in the first year of the thirteenth olympiad. Its fields are watered by the river Fiume di Sancto Leonardo. On one side

of it's antique medals is the figure of a lion, expressive of it's name; on the reverse a wine vessel, pointing out the plenty of it's vineyards and corn. Cicero Ver. 5. Ovid. Fast. 4. Sil. lib. 14. Sidon. Carm. 22.



CHAP. IV. against the Samnites. This people, seeing their country burnt, their fortified places taken, the whole stress of the war turned upon them, and that their allies had deserted them, as they were not a match for the Romans either in courage or strength, abandoned their towns and villages, and retired to high and steep mountains, with their wives and children, and such of their most valuable effects, as they could carry with them in their present confusion and consternation. Besides a misunderstanding between the generals, the Romans were, through their success and contempt of the enemy, seized with carelessness, the constant attendant of prosperity. By this means they suffered considerable loss, but far greater disgrace. For the Samnites, having the advantage of the ground, repulsed and routed their troops, as they were, in contempt of the enemy, climbing up those craggy and impassable rocks. Many were killed by stones and darts, and tumbled down the precipices; others, who were neither able to retreat nor fight, were taken alive.

CHAP. V. THIS misfortune induced the generals to divide their forces again, while each laid the blame of the enterprize miscarrying upon his colleague, and pretended that they would have succeeded better, if they had acted separately. C. Junius continued in Samnium with his legions, and P. Cornelius went to attack the Lucanians and Bruttians. Where, as he was spreading terror and desolation all round him, by laying waste the lands and setting the villages on fire, he found an opportunity of undertaking a more important enterprize. In the extremity of the coast of Italy, in that part where the promontory of Lacinium<sup>a</sup> runs to the eastward into the Ionian sea, stood the city of Crotona, which was anciently famous, and even then considerably wealthy. At that time the river Æsarus<sup>b</sup> ran through the middle of

<sup>a</sup> Now Capo delle Colonne. See book xii. c. vii. note b. tium and empties itself into the Ionian sea.

<sup>b</sup> Now the Esaro. It rises in Brut-



it, on both sides of which stood a great number of houses furrounded by a wall twelve miles in circumference. The consul durst not openly lay siege to it, but relied on it's being betrayed into his hands; for he had been encouraged to hope, by several persons in the Roman interest, that, as the city had no foreign garison in it, it might be taken by the care and assistance of those who began to be disgusted by the oppression of Pyrrhus's government, if he should speedily come with his army before it.

CHAP.

V.



BUT by chance the Crotonians, whether alarmed by an enemy's army being in their neighborhood, or that they suspected the treachery, which for the most part can never be long concealed, sent in the critical minute to Milo for a garison, who sent a strong body of Lucanians under the command of Nicomachus. As the consul was quite ignorant of this, and without the least apprehension of danger had made his approaches to the walls with too much security, these troops on a sudden sallied out, and repulsed him, but not without killing and wounding many of his men. Rufinus, resolving by stratagem to repair the loss he had sustained through rashness, purposely exaggerated the reports of his defeat. And, that he might seem to be struck with the greater terror, he pretended to have quitted the enterprize, and ordered his baggage to be packed up, that he might march away as soon as possible. This news soon reached the city, as it necessarily must, since it was so near to the Roman camp; and besides the probability of the thing they more easily believed it, because they wished it to be true. While they were of their own accord inclining to credit this report, a certain prisoner, induced by the hopes of liberty and rewards from the consul, arrived, as if he had taken the opportunity of their marching away in a hurry, to escape out of custody.

CHAP.

VI.



HE told them, " that Cornelius Rufinus, because he had not sufficient force to attack Crotona,

CHAP.

VII.





## CHAP.

VII.



na, was marching to Locri<sup>b</sup>, whither he was sent for by some, who promised to betray that city into his hands." Another arrived presently after, who told the same story, and besides affirmed, "that the Romans had begun their march." At the same time the ensigns and troops were seen afar off in motion on the road leading to Locri. Nicomachus, deceived by this feint, marched by bye ways with the utmost expedition to Locri, in order to defend it likewise. Rufinus, having had speedy intelligence of this by his secret spies, altered his rout, marched back to Crotona, and met with a success proportionable to the precaution which he now observed more than he had done before. His diligence was not only assisted by the security of the enemy, but by fortune; for a thick fog, which rose very opportunely, concealed his approach, and the conqueror was almost as soon within the walls, as the Crotonians knew of his return. And as it is usual with fortune never to observe a medium either in her smiles or frowns, so the joy on account of this victory, which was great enough of itself, was enhanced by other no less considerable grounds of rejoicing, which followed immediately on the back of it.

## CHAP.

VIII.



FOR Nicomachus, discovering that he had fallen into an irretrievable mistake, in the greatest perplexity took the road back to Tarentum, and being intercepted by Rufinus, lost a great part of his men, and with difficulty escaped himself with the remainder after he had lost two cities, by not being content to defend one. For the Locrians, animated by this success, put to the sword the garison and governor put into it by Pyrrhus, whose oppressions they were no longer able to endure, and contracted an alliance with the Romans. Though matters went on in this manner, yet it did not so much dishearten the Samnites and the other nations, but that besides their natural obstinacy, the hopes they placed in king Pyrrhus, and the news of his successes in Italy, encouraged them to stand out and suffer the last extremity.

<sup>b</sup> It stood near Capo Bursano.



AS Pyrrhus's exploits out of Italy are connect-  
ed with the Roman affairs, both in regard of time,  
place, and nature of the transactions, some account  
may be very properly given of them here. This king,  
therefore, having settled matters at Syracuse and Le-  
ontium, marched much about the same time to Agri-  
gentum<sup>a</sup> with his army; and while he was yet on  
his march was met by messengers, who informed  
him that the Carthaginian garison was driven out  
of that city, and the inhabitants ready to surrender  
themselves and their all into his hands. They were  
faithful to their promise. For on his arrival, Sofi-  
stratus, who had also surrendered Syracuse, deliver-  
ed up the city, eight hundred horse and eight thou-  
sand foot, choice young troops and not inferior to  
the Epirote soldiers, which Pyrrhus had brought  
with himself. Besides thirty towns, whereof Sofi-  
stratus was sovereign, by his persuasion voluntarily  
submitted to the king. After this he sent to Syra-  
cuse to fetch such arms and engines of all sorts, as  
were used in sieges. For having got ready an army  
of thirty thousand foot, fifteen hundred horse, and  
the elephants which he had brought with him into Si-  
cily, he resolved to besiege the towns that were sub-  
ject to the Carthaginians.

THE first of them that he reduced was Heraclea<sup>b</sup>,  
where there had been a Carthaginian garison. Then  
he took Azonæ<sup>c</sup>. The Selinuncii<sup>d</sup> soon underwent  
the same fate, and immediately the Halicyæi<sup>e</sup>, and  
Ægestans<sup>f</sup>, revolted from the Carthaginians, and set  
many other cities in that district an example of at-  
tempting the like. But as the Erycini<sup>g</sup> relied  
on the number of their auxiliaries, and the strength  
of their town, the king resolved to storm it. Where-  
fore forming his army in battalia, he drew his sword,

<sup>a</sup> Now Girgenti. See book xvi. river Platuni.  
<sup>c</sup> xxviii. n. b. <sup>f</sup> See book xvi. c. viii. n. a.  
<sup>b</sup> Call'd Heraclea Minoa, and stood <sup>g</sup> They inhabited a city called Eryx,  
near Castel Bianco. founded, according to the ancients,  
by a son of Buteus and Venus. It  
<sup>e</sup> Unknown. stood at a little distance from the pre-  
<sup>d</sup> See book xvi. c. viii. n. b. sent Trapani del Monte.  
<sup>e</sup> Their city stood on the present



CHAP. and marching up to the walls, made a vow to Hercules, in case he would enable him to shew himself that day to the Grecians a warrior worthy his race and royal station. After the signal was given for an assault, the showers of missile weapons obliged the besieged to retire, and gave the enemy an opportunity of applying the scaling ladders to the wall. The king himself was the first who mounted, and made a stout defence against the enemy who attacked him on all sides. He struck down some with his buckler, killed others with his sword, and terrified all by his unparallel'd courage and strength. Nor was this action honorable only, but successful to him in every respect. For after gaining great renown without receiving a wound, he took the town at that very attack; and his troops, animated no less by his example than anxiously concerned about the danger he was in, fought on both accounts with the greatest bravery. Then to discharge his vow, he offered sacrifice to Hercules, and celebrated magnificent games of different kinds for many days together.

CHAP. I LIKEWISE find that there was this year a triumph at Rome over the Lucanians and Bruttians on the fourteenth of January. But I am surprized that it should be ascribed to C. Junius Brutus, since it was Rufinus who defeated these nations, and took two very considerable cities. I likewise find by other authors that he was honored with a triumph. The Roman state, which was by no means easy on account of Pyrrhus's successes, was disturbed anew by terrible prodigies, and a pestilential distemper. But the most dreadful omen of all was, that the statue of Jupiter Capitolinus was struck with lightning, and it's head carried away, so that nothing less than the art and diligence of the haruspices could find it again. Soon after a pestilence followed, which, though it terrified the city no less than the omen, was yet attended with worse effects, for it carried off man and beast without distinction, but was chiefly formidable for the abortion of all creatures big with young; for as neither the offspring of the human or animal species could



could be brought into the world alive, it was believed, that the Gods in wrath intended to exterminate the race of living creatures.

THIS violent calamity rendered the second consulate of Q. Fabius Maximus Gurges and his colleague C. Genucius Clepsina very remarkable. However they still prosecuted the war with the Samnites and Lucanians. And we have two certain proofs of the defeat of these enemies ; first, that Q. Fabius triumphed over the Samnites, Lucanians and Brutians, during the festival of the Quirinalia<sup>a</sup> : the second, that these people sent letters and deputies to Pyrrhus, to inform him, “ that they were ruined, “ if he did not come to their relief ; and they “ could no longer hold out against the Roman arms, “ but must surrender to prevent their utter destruction.” Since the affection of the Sicilians towards him was now cooled, and their hearts alienated by his oppression, matters begun to go hard with him ; wherefore this deputation induced him to leave their island and transport his forces again into Italy.

CHAP.  
XII.

Q. Fab.  
Max. Gurges  
and C. Gen.  
Clepsina  
consuls.  
Y. of R. 476.  
B. J. C. 276.

IN order the better to understand his design and the series of events consequent thereto, I have thought proper to continue my narration of his exploits there. After he had taken Eryx<sup>a</sup>, and put a garison into it, he marched to the city of Ægina, which was remarkable for it's fortifications and commodious situation near the port of Panormus<sup>b</sup>. The townsmen having voluntarily admitted him into this place, he marched thence to Panormus itself, which name was given it from it's beautiful and capacious harbor<sup>c</sup>. Having likewise carried this town by storm, and another besides called Epieirecte, which was situated between Panormus and Eryx, on a pleasant mountain, but could not easily be come at, he was now master

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XIII.

<sup>a</sup> Celebrated in honor of Romulus on the thirteenth of the calends of March.

<sup>b</sup> The present Palermo.

<sup>c</sup> From the greek words *πας* all and *οπος*, a harbor.



CHAP. of all that belonged to the Carthaginians, except-  
 XIII. ing the town of Lilybæum. The Carthaginians had  
 built this city not long before as a habitation for  
 the Motyenſes<sup>a</sup>, whose city had been razed by Dio-  
 nyſius the tyrant, during the Carthaginian war.  
 Therefore when the Carthaginians ſaw all their hopes  
 of dominion in Sicily reduced to this ſingle town,  
 which they were of opinion Pyrrhus was preparing  
 to beſiege, they determined to ſend more forces to  
 defend it.

CHAP. HAVING therefore thrown into it a ſtrong ga-  
 XIV. riſon, plenty of proviſions, and a great quantity of  
 arms and warlike engines with which they could  
 eaſily furniſh the beſieged, as they were maſters at  
 ſea, they with great diligence ſet about fortifying  
 the town on all ſides. In particular they built a  
 great number of towers and dug a broad moat on  
 that ſide, where it was acceſſible by land. The work  
 was ſooner completed, as the town, by being built  
 for the moſt part on the rocks of the ſea, need-  
 ed no artificial fortifications on that ſide. Though  
 they had made vaſt preparations for the war, and  
 hired a number of mercenaries both from Italy and  
 other parts, yet they ſent embaſſadors to Pyrrhus,  
 promiſing him “ money and a fleet, provided they  
 “ could obtain peace from him on reaſonable terms.”  
 The king, deſiring to keep poſſeſſion of the towns  
 he had taken, would not hear of the money, but  
 ſeemed inclined to leave them Lilybæum. Yet  
 prevailed upon by his favorites and the principal  
 men of the Sicilian ſtates, who repreſented “ that  
 “ the iſland would always be under ſtrong dread of  
 “ the Carthaginians, while they, who had ſuch a  
 “ powerful fleet, were in poſſeſſion of Lilybæum,  
 “ as a gate always open to enter Sicily ;” he an-  
 ſwered the embaſſadors, “ that the ſole condition  
 “ on which he would conclude a peace with them,  
 “ was, that they ſhould quit all Sicily, and leave the  
 “ ſea the boundary of the two empires.”

<sup>a</sup> Their city lay to the north of cape Lilybæum and was called Motye.



THUS all hopes of peace being cut off, he immediately approached the town, and encamping near the walls, so disposed his companies, that those which were fatigued with duty should be alternately relieved by fresh ones, and then opened the siege. But the Lilybæans, assisted by the number of their troops and plenty of engines, obstinately defended the place. For the Carthaginians had brought so great a quantity of catapultæ and scorpions, that they could scarce be contained within the walls. When therefore they had poured as it were thick showers of all sorts of missile weapons upon the king's army, killed and wounded many, they forced him to abandon the enterprise. Then the king ordered other sorts of engines, besides those which he had brought from Syracuse, to be made, dug mines under ground, and tried all other arts of besieging. But after he had tired himself in vain against the Carthaginians, who made a brave defence, for the space of two months, and was convinced that Lilybæum could never be taken, while the sea was open to leave the besieged a communication with their own country, he raised the siege, and bent his force another way.

FOR certain Græcian cities implored his assistance against the Mamertines who lived on the sea coast, and besides other grievous and frequent injuries had obliged them to pay tribute. Pyrrhus therefore marching his army thither with all expedition, took and killed some Mamertines who had been sent to exact contributions. He defeated their armies in battle, took and demolished many of their fortified places. Hitherto, by these brave exploits, he had acquired great power and glory, and besides his other good qualities, by an extreme obliging behavior, not only gained but merited the esteem of individuals and the affection of the states. But this happiness, which one would have imagined to have been most solidly founded, was overturned almost in a moment. Besides the levity of temper, to which that people are subject, this change is attributed to the extravagance of his favorites. It is



said the king himself was most to blame; who, though he behaved well in adversity, yet was puffed up with pride in prosperity, which the minds of men are generally too weak to bear.

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xvii.

WHEN therefore, as we have observed already, he saw it would be necessary to have a fleet in order to accomplish his enterprize, and as he had many ships, but very ill furnished with sailors<sup>a</sup>, he highly disgusted the states by too hotly pressing hands to man them. For he degenerated all of a sudden from his former lenity into a haughty imperious temper, which was soon followed by menaces, and at last by cruel punishments. However the Sicilians bore these things, as they seemed to be acted under the appearance of promoting the public interest. But when they saw those put to death, by whose means chiefly he had got possession of Sicily, they not by degrees, but suddenly and without delay withdrew their affection; and many people revolted from him, some joining the Carthaginians, and others the Mamertines, as they had opportunity. Thus though cruelty in itself is always a great grievance, yet it becomes quite insupportable, when exercised upon benefactors; and the natural abhorrence we have of it is enhanced by the additional ideas which mankind have of perfidy and ingratitude.

CHAP.  
xviii.

WHAT seems principally to have reduced him to the necessity of following these violent measures, was his obsequiousness to the extravagant desires and advices of his courtiers. For he bestowed on them all the wealth which he took from the favorites and friends of Agathocles, though his own were not one whit better than they. He filled the chief magistracies of the cities with some of his guards and centurions, contrary to the constitutions and ancient customs of these states; not only for the legal time, but in what manner and for as long as he pleased. He had assumed to himself the decision of all suits and claims, and the management of all public affairs, which he

<sup>a</sup> See below chap. xxxiii. of the xvi. book, note a.



generally entrusted to his creatures, who were extremely hated by all on account of their avarice and luxury, and who, minding nothing but how to get and spend money dishonestly, in order to gratify their lusts, made no difference between right and wrong. The people's minds being exasperated at these things, they begun first to mutter, and then openly to lament, "their not having been content with their former condition, since they were now to suffer the same oppressions. Pyrrhus had been sent for and entertained in vain, if he studied to imitate those manners, which he had come to correct. And no injury was more sensibly felt, than that committed by the very person who ought to have been the avenger of it."

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XVIII.

BY this time it was apparent that many were contriving how to bring about a revolution; upon which the king, pursuing the worst measures, chose rather to encrease than remove the causes of offence, as if cruelty could atone for the crime of injustice. In the mean time the Carthaginians, seeing he had no great army of his own, and observing he was daily less and less esteemed by the Sicilians, conceived hopes of regaining the province, sent out a new army, and, while those who dreaded the cruelty of Pyrrhus deserted to them from all quarters, cut out a deal of employment for the Epirotes. Pyrrhus, under color of the Carthaginian war, having put garisons into the towns, resolved to put all the principal men to death by forged accusations of treason, from a persuasion, that if they were once cut off the multitude would remain obedient. At last he seized Thenio and Sofistratus, by far the two greatest men in the island, and who had been the main instruments in putting him in possession of it. Thenio indeed was put to death, but Sofistratus escaped to the enemy, and contributed no less by his influence and assistance to drive the king out of Sicily, than he had formerly done to bring in and establish him there.

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XIX.



## CHAP.

XX.



THEN the greatest part of the cities, as it were in emulation of one another, revolted to the Carthaginians, and some to the Mamertines, upon which the affairs of the Epirotes begun to be reduced from the most flourishing situation to the most miserable and low ebb. In this state of affairs, the embassy from his allies in Italy, complaining “that some cities being lost, the remaining few were scarce able to repulse the enemy from their walls,” was very welcome to the king, and furnished him, according to his desire, with an honorable pretext to retire: for as he was now going to aid his allies in distress, he would thereby seem to have voluntarily returned to Italy, without being driven out by the Carthaginians. When he was about to depart, considering with himself the wealth and situation of the island, and temper of the people, he is said to have cried out, “O my friends, what a fine field of battle do we leave the Romans and Carthaginians?” This was not a vain prediction, but sufficiently fulfilled in those long wars, which soon followed, and wherein so many fleets were sunk and armies cut to pieces on both sides.

## CHAP.

XXI.



BUT the enemy's courage increasing in proportion to their success, Pyrrhus's departure from Sicily was neither very safe, nor his march to Tarentum undisturbed after his arrival in Italy. As the Epirotes had little or no skill in maritime affairs, and could not be a match for men very expert in them, the Carthaginians fell upon the king's fleet in it's passage over the streights, sunk seventy vessels and disabled the rest. Thus after this defeat he escaped into Italy with twelve ships, whereas he had set out with more than an hundred decked ones, and a much greater number of galleys and vessels for transporting his baggage and troops. But having assembled from all quarters such of his soldiers as had gained the land after this defeat, he presently formed so strong an army, that he conceived hopes of being able to surprize Rhegium. But being repulsed by the Campanians



nians who possessed that town, he fell immediately into a considerable danger. For as he was marching through pathless and woody places, an enemy starting out where they had lain in ambuscade, put the rear of his army into disorder and killed many men and two elephants.

THIS body which attacked him was considerable both for the quality and number of the troops. They were no less than ten thousand men inured to arms, and mostly Mamertines, who trusting to their alliance and relation with the Rhegians, as soon as they got intelligence of Pyrrhus's intention of returning into Italy, crossed the sea before him, and in hopes of booty posted themselves in places convenient for making a sudden sally upon him. As Pyrrhus with his wonted courage was fighting in the front, he received a wound in the head. And having retired a little out of the battle to have it tied up, one of the enemy, remarkable for his gigantic stature and glittering arms, stepping out a considerable way before the rest, challenged him with a loud voice "to come out and fight him if he was alive." The king foaming with rage, and the fierceness of his countenance being encreased by the blood running down his face, in spite of the efforts of his men to stop him, attacked this bully, and seizing him struck him dead by a blow on the head. It is related that the temper of his sword was so good, and the stroke given with so much force, that it went quite down through the body, and at once clove the man fairly in two. The enemy terrified at this strange and shocking sight, and reverencing the king as possessed of somewhat more than human, quitted the battle.

CHAP.

XXII.

THOUGH Pyrrhus was delivered from this troublesome enemy, yet he was still under great uneasiness. He had lost a part of his baggage in this action, and the Carthaginians happened in the last battle to intercept the rich spoils which he had got in Sicily. Besides this, he was straitened for money,

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XXIII.

and not being able to give his soldiers their pay, when they demanded it, he was obliged to rob the treasure consecrated to Proserpine. This Goddess had a temple near Locri, which was at that time very famous on account of the opinion that people entertained of its sanctity. After he had again made himself master of this city, by means of a faction he had within it, who were animated by his presence; he committed many barbarous outrages upon the inhabitants; for he carried his murders a greater length, and plundered them in a more covetous manner, than the revenging of the slaughter of his garison deserved. And when nothing remained that his men either could or would carry off, he resolved to seize the sacred treasure; the most impious of his favorites, who are generally the advisers of every destructive measure, prompting him to do it.

CHAP.  
XXIV.

THE persons concerned on this occasion were Evagoras son of Theodorus, Balacer son of Nicander, and Dinarchus son of Nicias. They not only advised Pyrrhus to commit the sacrilege, by telling him that every thing yielded to necessity; but also lent him their assistance, and took up a vast quantity of gold which had been buried in subterraneous caves for many years. At this he was glad, and “often declaring that nothing was more silly than unreasonable scruples of conscience, and that he should act like a fool if he did not take ready money,” he accordingly put the plunder on board his fleet and ordered it to be carried to Tarentum, whither he himself marched by land. But this act of impiety was not more shameful in the undertaking than unsuccessful in the event. The fleet met with a sudden storm, for the winds, which had hitherto been fair, turned in the night time against it, and in the dark drove the ships from their course, and forced some of them into the streights of Sicily. But the ships which carried the sacred treasure being shattered and dashed against the rocks, the waves broke into them and they were lost with all the sailors. Howbeit  
the



the money stuck to the remaining planks of the wrecks, and was carried back the day after it had been put on board, to the shore near the temple.

AS soon as the king got notice of this, he ordered all the treasure to be gathered up carefully, and to be carried back to it's former pits; thinking by this to appease the wrath of the Goddeſs. But notwithstanding this, he had no better ſucceſs afterwards, fortune diſconcerting all his meaſures, though he was neither wanting in courage or conduct. Proxenus the hiſtorian and Pyrrhus himſelf in his commentaries declare that he conſtantly aſcribed his after-miſfortunes to the wrath of the Goddeſs whom he had robbed. And while the crime was yet recent, upon his having attempted in vain to appeaſe Proſerpine by a number of victims, he was ſo tranſported with paſſion, that he not only put to death all who had given him this unhappy advice, or had been employed in the execution of it, but even thoſe who had given ſigns of approbation when he intended to commit the ſacrilege. And they indeed met with a fate ſuitable to their life and behavior. Nevertheless Pyrrhus continued his march and came to Tarentum without further interruption.

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XXV.

IN the mean time, the Romans being more grievouſly diſtreſſed by the plague, and their dread of the war being heightened by the return of Pyrrhus into Italy, left no method untried that might engage either Gods or men to relieve them. A ſuperſtitious perſuaſion had long prevailed, that the plague could be ſtopped by the dictator's driving a nail, and hence it is probable they tried this experiment and that P. Cornelius Rufinus was named dictator, in order to perform this ceremony; for the greatneſs of the calamity might diſpoſe the Romans to ſeek all manner of remedies, and it is certain that Rufinus was degraded the next year by the cenſors, after he had been twice conſul and once dictator, nor can we find a more certain account of his dictatorship, nor a fitter opportunity for

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CHAP. XXVI. for advancing him to that dignity. Thus indeed they guarded themselves against the infection as well as they could, but the preparations for the war required more industry, and gave occasion to a greater struggle, especially the difficulty which the consul found in raising the levies. For besides being tired out with the length of the war, the citizens had been so long affected with the contagion, that they were averse to all manner of action, and when the youth were called upon, they refused with the utmost obstinacy to enlist themselves. But the severity and resolution of M. Curius Dentatus, who was consul for the second time, got the better of their obstinacy.

CHAP. XXVII. HE had already entered into his office, and had L. Cornelius for his colleague. Curius was raising the levies in the capitol; and when no body answered, the names of all the tribes were thrown into an urn, and the Pollian tribe happening to come up, he ordered the man whose name was first drawn by lot, to be called upon. But the fellow remaining silent, he first sold his goods; and upon his appealing to the tribunes of the people, and complaining bitterly of the injury done him by the consul, he sold himself, declaring, “that the republic had no need of a citizen who knew not how to obey.” Neither did the tribunes defend him; for this wholesome severity was made a precedent, and when a levy was legally proclaimed, if any man refused to enrol himself, he was sold as a slave. This intimidated the rest of the citizens so much, that they enlisted themselves readily, and the legions which they intended to raise being completed, both the consuls marched into the enemy’s country. Lentulus made an incursion into Lucania, and Curius attacked the Samnites. The news of their march roused Pyrrhus, who mustered his army at Tarentum and found it amounted to twenty-three thousand foot and three thousand horse.

CHAP. XXVIII. WITH these and a choice body of Tarentine youth he entered Samnium. But he found not the Samnites

L. Cornel.  
Lentulus,  
and M. Cur.  
Dentatus  
consuls.  
Y. of R. 477.  
B. J. C. 275.



Samnites very ready to obey his orders ; their auxiliaries came to him more slowly and in lesser numbers than he expected. They were not only tired out with the terrible defeats they had received, but their minds were fretted, for they imputed their miseries to Pyrrhus, and imagined that they would not have suffered so much, if he had not undertaken this expedition to Sicily and thereby betrayed his Italian allies. Nevertheless, when he had got together a numerous army by the recruits which were sent him, he dispatched a part of it into Lucania to keep Lentulus at a distance, and marched himself to oppose Man. Curius, thinking if he could once defeat him he would easily get the better of his other enemies. But the Roman general knowing that no army could be a match for the Macedonian phalanx, if it had room to extend itself, fortified his camp in rough uneven ground ; and as he expected auxiliaries from Lucania, though the auspices and the entrails of the sacrifices presaged success, he gave the enemy no opportunity to fight him.

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XXVIII.

THIS backwardness of Curius made Pyrrhus more eager to engage, before the consular armies should join. Wherefore, having picked out the bravest of his troops and some elephants, he resolved to march up to the Roman camp in the night, in order to surprize them. But while he was getting ready every thing necessary for his march and the intended assault, he fell asleep and dreamed that the greater part of his teeth dropt out, and a large quantity of blood gushed out of his mouth. Being perplexed at this vision, he had a mind to suspend all action for this time ; but upon the earnest entreaties of his friends not to let slip an opportunity that perhaps he never might have again, he ordered the signal to be given to march. The country about the city Maleventum<sup>a</sup>, which name it retained till that time, was hilly and covered with woods. The mountains sloping gradually end at last in a wide extended plain,

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<sup>a</sup> In Campania, and now called Beneventum.

which



which is called the Taurasian fields<sup>a</sup>. Wherefore Pyrrhus having began his march from the lower grounds over the hills and forests that stood in his way, when his lights went out, he lost his way, being unacquainted with the country was obliged to halt, and was perceived by the Romans at day-light from their camp.

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XXX.



THOUGH they were surprized at the unexpected coming of the enemy, yet as every body saw they must fight, and as the sacrifices were favorable, the consul marched instantly out of his camp, fell upon their advanced guard that was disordered and at a distance from their main body, and routed it. The fugitives run upon their own army and put it all in confusion. Many of the Epirotes were slain, and several elephants that were left behind by their guides fell into the hands of the Romans. This success encouraged Curius to push his good fortune, and for that purpose, he marched down all his forces into the plain, drew them up in battalia and prepared to engage. Neither were the Epirotes slow to fight. Both sides begun the battle with great fierceness; but as the Romans had got the advantage in the first encounter, their hopes and courage were now higher than those of their enemies. The Epirotes giving ground, Pyrrhus again had recourse to the assistance of his beasts, and when one of the wings of his army fled, he obliged the other wing of the Romans to retire to their body of reserve.

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XXXI.



THE consul before the action had posted a strong party there, which he ordered to renew the battle with fresh strength and to beat off the elephants. Experience had taught them a ready and easy method of defending themselves against these animals; and former battles had shewn them, that it was easier to put them to flight with fire than with the sword. For this purpose, they had prepared faggots of dry wood wrapt up in hemp, and besmeared with a vast quantity of pitch, which they kindled and shot upon the backs and towers of the elephants; and as the

<sup>a</sup> On each side of the Calor in the further principality.



faggots were full of very sharp hooks, they stuck fast to their skin or to the wood of the towers, as they happened to fall. As showers of these and darts of other kinds were poured upon them from the rising ground, the elephants partly affrighted at the fire and galled with the pain of their wounds became quite furious, and their guides being no longer able to manage them, they fell back upon their own men, and wherever they came, put all in confusion with fear and slaughter. The havock is said to have been begun by a young elephant, which being wounded with a dart in the head, made a terrible roaring; the mother knowing it ran out of her rank, and increasing the noise, drew all the others after her and thereby caused a disorder.

CHAP.

XXXI.

THIS battle was very considerable both for the number of the slain and the fruit of the victory. For it put an end to the war with Pyrrhus, neither did the Italians long withstand the Roman arms, and after the conquest of Italy, the other nations and kings of the world soon submitted to her power. It is said the king's army was triple the number of theirs in this action, amounting to eighty thousand foot and six thousand horse. Those who exaggerate his loss, say that the number of the slain on his side was thirty-six thousand; they who diminish it most, reduce it to twenty-six thousand. There were one thousand three hundred taken prisoners, besides eight elephants. Pyrrhus himself escaped with a few horse to Tarentum. The Romans are said to have admired his camp which they took, and afterwards drew great advantage from it. For they and the other nations of Italy had hitherto been used to encamp by cohorts in great disorder, in little quarters, like hamlets. Pyrrhus, having measured out the ground, is said to have been the first who confined all his army within the same rampart. The Romans instructed by his example and adding other necessary improvements, were first brought to mark out their camp regularly, which art they afterwards carried to the utmost perfection.

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XXXII.

THIS



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THIS year was memorable for the great success of the republic's arms abroad, the good management of her affairs at home, and the severity of her discipline in the city. Q. Fabricius Luscinus, and Q. Æmilius Papus were censors, and discharged the office with great unanimity. The horses, which had been given to the knights at the public expence, were taken from them, and in the new list of the senate, some persons were omitted. But the censure inflicted upon C. Cornelius Rufinus deserves particular notice. He had been dictator and twice consul, and his great services in the field had procured him the honor of a triumph. Nevertheless they degraded him from being a senator, and gave this reason for it, "because he was found to have ten pounds weight of silver plate for his table." Which censure not only affected Rufinus himself, but the whole family for a long time after, none of them having attained to the highest dignities, till the time of Sylla the dictator. The frugality of those times was so great, and the luxury of the same city afterwards so extravagant, that the early ages looked upon the same furniture to be an excess of prodigality, which their posterity were to look upon as the mark of the most sordid meanness. The census being finished and the lustrum closed, the number of citizens enrolled amounted to two hundred seventy-one thousand two hundred and twenty-four.

CHAP.  
XXXIV.

AT the end of the year, both the consuls were carried to the capitol in triumph. Curius obtained this honor first, and his triumph was more magnificent than his colleague's, both on account of the eminent services he had done, the rejoicings that were made for the victory he had gained, and the splendor of the procession. For before this time, there had been hardly any other embellishments to adorn the triumphal pomp, but some broken arms taken from their poor neighbors, or a few chariots taken from the Gauls; and no other booty, but some flocks of sheep or herds of oxen. But the different appearances



of the several nations that were led before his chariot, and the richness and beauty of the spoils made the show on this occasion very grand. Among the prisoners were Epirotes, Theffalians, Macedonians, Apulians, Lucanians and Bruttians. There were likewise carried before him pictures, statues done by the best hands, vessels of gold, purple carpets, and all manner of foreign finery and implements of Tarentine luxury. But nothing raised the admiration of the spectators so high, or gave them so much pleasure, as the elephants. Four of these animals, with their towers, for the rest died of their wounds, were now exposed to view at Rome for the first time. The common people called them Lucanian oxen, from the name of that beast which was the largest creature they knew, and from the country where they had first seen them.

CHAP.  
XXXIV.

A FEW days after the other consul triumphed, but in a more obscure manner, though he performed several considerable actions. He had defeated the Samnites and Lucanians, and had taken many cities, but the greatness and lustre of these exploits were diminished when compared with the glory of Curius. Among those who were rewarded on account of their bravery, was Servius Cornelius Merenda, who was presented with a crown of gold out of the booty, because he had been very instrumental in taking a city belonging to the Samnites. While the Romans thus reaped the fruits of their victory with great joy, the enemy were quite dejected. They had been weary of Pyrrhus's government long ago, but since the late defeat, their minds were filled with fear and indignation, and enjoyed no manner of ease or quiet. The king too for some time past had been heartily tired of the war, and now despairing almost of bringing it to a successful issue, he thought of nothing, but how he might depart in the safest and most honorable way. However he concealed his design for the present, and encouraged his allies "not to lose courage for the loss of one battle. That they had not suffered more in

CHAP.  
XXXV.



CHAP. “ the last action than the Romans had in the first,  
 xxxv. “ and after all they could not be brought to accept  
 “ of peace even upon honorable terms. If they  
 “ would imitate their constancy and wait till fortune  
 “ should change, every thing would turn out well.  
 “ Besides he represented to them, that they had  
 “ forces yet remaining, which would be sufficient for  
 “ the war if it should last for many years ; and that  
 “ he had many powerful friends in Greece, whose as-  
 “ sistance he could firmly depend upon.”

CHAP. NOR was it at all incredible, for Ptolemy in par-  
 xxxvi. ticular, who was at that time king of Macedon, had  
 “ formerly given him large succors. Besides he was  
 in high esteem both among Grecians and Barbarians,  
 some of whom were attached to him out of gratitude  
 for services he had done them, and others through  
 fear. The Ætolians likewise, at that time a very  
 powerful nation, and even the Macedonians, and the  
 petty kings of Illyricum revered him. However  
 he gave this out in all conversations, more with a de-  
 sign to prevent his allies from their intended revolt,  
 till he should find a fair wind to carry him back to  
 his own kingdom, than from any inclination he had  
 to continue in Italy, or the hopes he entertained of  
 obtaining auxiliaries from beyond sea. Nevertheless  
 he dispatched ambassadors to the several courts of  
 Asia and to Macedon, demanding money from some,  
 troops from others, and both from Antigonus king of  
 Macedon. Having by these hopes made a shift to  
 preserve the affections of his allies, while he was in  
 the mean time underhand getting every thing ready  
 for his departure, his ambassadors returned with let-  
 ters from Antigonus. Upon which he assembled the  
 chief officers of his own country and the leading men  
 of the Italians, but did not read to them the letters  
 he had received but forged ones, with accounts that  
 Antigonus would quickly send him a powerful as-  
 sistance.

CHAP. AND having by this stratagem not only deceived  
 xxxvii. his allies, but even the Romans who kept garison in  
 the



the neighborhood, the next night he set sail without taking any part of his baggage along with him, and arrived safe at the Ceraunian mountains a promontory of Epirus. But that he might seem to have left the war with as little disgrace as possible, and make men believe he would return as soon as he had dispatched the business which had called him home, he left Milo with a garison to keep the citadel of Tarentum. And in order to keep him to his duty not only by the prospect of rewards, but also by apprehensions of the same kind of death, he gave him a chair, the girths of which were made of Nicias's skin, who had been executed for treasonable designs against his life. Having left that officer with a garison there, he returned to his native country six years after he had left it, with the remainder of his forces, being eight thousand foot and five hundred horse. During this interval the comitia by centuries was assembled at Rome; and as it was the general opinion that Pyrrhus would renew the war, they thought fit to promote M. Curius to the consulship a third time, because he alone, by his extraordinary success against that king, seemed to bid fairest both by his authority and good fortune to finish the war. Ser. Cornelius Merenda was the patrician advanced to be his colleague, both on account of his late gallant behavior, and the recommendation of the consul Lentulus, who was of the same family and under whom he had served the year before.

CHAP.  
XXXVII.

M. Curius  
Dentatus  
and Ser.  
Cornelius  
consuls.  
Y. of R. 478.  
B. J. C. 274.

IN their consulship, the whole stress of the war was turned against the Lucanians, Samnites and Brutians; but as they defended themselves more by their fortifications than their arms, they had no opportunity of performing any particular action worth mentioning. Howbeit this did not in the least diminish the renown of Curius; for every body judged that this prince, though highly renowned for his valor, was not only deterred by the defeat he had received, but afraid to venture to come a second time against such a formidable enemy as Curius. And for this reason the praise and glory of driving Pyrrhus

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XXXVIII.



CHAP.  
XXXVIII.

C. Fabius  
Dorso and  
C. Claudius  
Canina  
consuls.  
Y. of R. 479.  
B. J. C. 273.

out of Italy, and of giving the finishing stroke to the war, hath always been ascribed to Curius. The year after Curius's third consulate, in the magistracy of C. Dorso and C. Claudius Canina, ambassadors came first to Rome with presents from the kings of Alexandria. Ptolemy surnamed Philadelphus, upon hearing of Pyrrhus's departure from Italy, sent to compliment the senate, and to desire them "to receive him as the friend and ally of the people of Rome." The fathers were exceedingly rejoiced at this, and looked upon it as a great honor, that such powerful kings, from countries so remote, should of their own accord court the friendship of the Roman people. Wherefore they received the ambassadors graciously, entertained them kindly, and consented to unite themselves by a treaty with Ptolemy. And at the same time they chose out four illustrious persons to be sent ambassadors to him, in order to return his civility and ratify the alliance. The chief of this embassy was Q. Fabius Gurges a consular person, and with him were joined in commission two brothers of the Fabian family, C. and Numerius Pictors, and Q. Ogulnius.

CHAP.  
XXXIX.

WHILE they were gone, the consuls obtained a victory over the Italian allies, who still continued in arms through necessity and despair. However the triumph which C. Claudius Canina, before the expiration of his office, obtained over the Samnites, Lucanians and Bruttians, on the day of the Quirinalia<sup>a</sup>, is a proof that his achievements were judged to be greater than his colleague's. But the rejoicing on account of the success of the republic's arms abroad was interrupted for a short time by an unlucky accident. Sextilia, a vestal virgin, was convicted of incontinence, and by the violation of her solemn vow was thought to have provoked the indignation of the Gods against the state. In order to appease their wrath, they had recourse to expiations and sacrifices;

<sup>a</sup> A feast instituted to Romulus, which was kept on the seventeenth of February.



they likewise inflicted the legal punishment on the criminal by burying her alive nigh the Colline gate. During the same consulate the republic likewise sent two colonies, one to Cosa in the country of the Volscientes, and the other to Pæstum in Lucania, which is called by the Greeks Possidonia. The Lucanians had formerly taken this place from the Sybarites, and it had lately fallen into the hands of the Romans. The following year deserves to be particularly mentioned, because it not only put an end to the war with the Samnites and their allies, but even to that with the Tarentines.

CHAP.  
XXXIX.

THE new consuls L. Papirius Cursor and Sp. Carvilius for the second time, having got the Samnites, Bruttians, Lucanians and Tarentines assigned them for their provinces, in hopes of giving the finishing stroke to the war, had raised the levies with great diligence, and by their good conduct and gallant actions fully answered the expectations of every body. For the Samnites were entirely subdued by Carvilius seventy-one years after they had begun to contend with the Romans, and from this time were stricter in their observance of the terms of peace imposed upon them than they had hitherto been. L. Papirius gave the Bruttians and Lucanians several great defeats, and obliged them to sue for peace. However as many of the neighboring nations were confederate in the same war, and their territories blended with one another, Papirius was employed against the Samnites, Carvilius against the Bruttians and Lucanians, and both of them against the Tarentines. Nor were the forces of the latter only routed and put to flight, but their city likewise surrendered to the Romans. But we must be a little more distinct in our relation of this affair, because it contains not only an account of the reduction of that noble city and the death of Pyrrhus, but leads us farther to mention the craftiness of the Carthaginians and the first beginnings of the rivalship between that republic and Rome.

CHAP.  
XL.

L. Papirius  
Cursor and  
Sp. Carvilius  
consuls.  
Y. of R. 480.  
B. J. C. 272.



## CHAP.

XLI.

WHEN Pyrrhus departed from Italy two years before, he left a garison in Tarentum to keep up the spirits of his allies, in expectation of his return. His success in Macedon encouraged them not a little, and supported the courage of the Italians under their present losses. Being a man eager in the gratification of his desires, he could not be long quiet, for he had made war upon Antigonus, because he had not sent any troops to his assistance in Italy, and having defeated him in battle, had taken from him almost his whole kingdom. For this reason the Romans were all this while under continual apprehensions, lest he should return to Italy with a more numerous army, and rekindle the war with more violence than ever. But his unexpected death at once cut off the hopes of his friends, and removed the fears of his enemies. As he was insatiably ambitious of raising his power to the highest pitch of grandeur, under pretext of re-establishing, on the throne of Sparta, Cleonymus, who was at variance with Areus, he marched into Peloponnesus and intended to seize it for himself. The Lacedæmonians indeed suffered much by this invasion, though he attempted in vain to take the city.

## CHAP.

XLII.

ARGOS was at this time divided into two opposite factions, headed by Aristippus and Aristias. The former invited Antigonus to suppress his enemies, and the latter called in Pyrrhus. For Antigonus had come into the Peloponnesus to assist the Lacedæmonians against the common enemy. By this means it happened, that the forces of both kings were admitted into Argos the same night at different gates. Pyrrhus being informed that his men were hard put to it had likewise entered the city, and at day-break happening to see the brazen statues of a wolf and a bull in a fighting posture, started at the omen of his approaching fate. For there was an old prediction of the oracle, that the place, where he should see a wolf fight a bull, would prove fatal to



to him. Wherefore he resolved to draw back his forces and retreat out of the city. But the troops and elephants, that were coming to his assistance with his son Helenus, meeting those within the city, had obstructed the passage ; while the one party endeavored to force their way in, and the other to get out, the enemy likewise closely pursued those that retreated, and at the same time Argives, Macedonians, Epirotes, Spartans and Cretans who had come with Areus, and some elephants pushing and shoving one another backward and forward in the narrow streets, filled all places with terror and confusion.

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XLII.

AS Pyrrhus was all this while employed in giving proper orders to his men, both by his cries and the motion of his hand, endeavoring by all means to save them and repel the enemy, a young Argian wounded him slightly with his lance. This young fellow's mother, a poor woman, was standing with some others beholding the battle from the roof of the house, and upon seeing the king rushing with all his force to charge his aggressor, being affrighted at the imminent danger of her son, she immediately caught up a tile and threw it down with both her hands upon the king's head. Such was the inglorious and miserable end of Pyrrhus, who in fortitude of soul, sagacity in counsel, skill in military affairs, and many other excellent endowments of body and mind was equal to any man of that age. But his ambition sullied his good qualities, and deprived him of the fruit of his victories and toils. For he would have been much happier, if he had been contented with his own dominions, and would have been the most powerful prince of his age, if he had been as circumspect in securing his conquests as he was active in gaining them.

CHAP.  
XLIII.

AS soon as the news of his death reached Italy, the several states were glad or sorry at it, according as they stood affected to him. Those nations indeed which were their own masters purchased peace

CHAP.  
XLIV.



CHAP. XLIV. and the friendship of the Romans on the best terms they could; but the Epirote garison, and Milo governor of the citadel of Tarentum, hindered the inhabitants of that city from pursuing the measures they intended. For after some slight affronts and injuries on both sides, they had come to an open rupture. Upon which the Tarentines, reduced to the utmost distress, as having the Romans for their enemies without the walls, and the Epirotes within, sent ambassadors to the Carthaginians to implore their assistance. As the Carthaginians were at this time in possession of a great part of Sicily, and were desirous to add the places on the coast of Italy to their dominions rather than suffer them to fall into the hands of the Romans; they therefore equipt a fleet with all expedition, and came to Tarentum under pretext of expelling Milo, but intending if they should make themselves masters of it, to defend it even against the Romans. In the mean time L. Papirius Cursor the consul came before the city with his army, so that it was invested on all sides, for the Romans blocked up both it and the citadel by land, and the Carthaginians blocked up the citadel by sea.

CHAP. XLV. IN this critical situation of affairs, as the Roman general was no less solitious to prevent the Carthaginians from reducing the citadel than to take it himself, he sily cast about for any feasible method whereby he might carry his point, and tried Milo by some proper persons, promising, that “if he  
 “should by his means get possession of Tarentum,  
 “he himself and his countrymen should have their  
 “lives spared, and be allowed to march out of the  
 “town with their baggage.” Milo perceiving that this was the best course he could take, in his present situation, treated with the Tarentines “to assemble  
 “and deliberate with him upon proper measures to  
 “be taken for their common safety,” and by degrees prevailed upon them to depute him to L. Papirius, assuring them he would do his utmost to procure advantageous terms for them. As they were quite  
 tired



tired out with continual cares, and the dangers to which they were exposed, they frankly complied with his proposal; and being sent upon a deputation to the consul, who was in concert with him, he brought them the strongest hopes of obtaining a peace upon favorable conditions. This assurance made the Tarentines throw off the little care and thoughtfulness that remained upon their spirits, and lulled them into confidence and security; which gave Milo an opportunity to deliver up not only the citadel, but also the city to the Romans.


CHAP.  
XLV.

THE Carthaginians were very much chagrined at this event, however they retired, giving out that "they were friends to the Romans," and that "they came thither only with an intention to drive out Milo." I find some historians affirm that the Romans gave them notice, "if they intermeddled with the affairs of the Tarentines, it would be looked upon as an infraction of the treaties subsisting between the two republics;" and that they not only slighted this declaration, but their troops fought as auxiliaries in the army of the Tarentines against the Romans; and this offence was the chief ground of the war which was carried on against the Carthaginians in Sicily, though that people endeavored to screen their criminal behavior by perjury, and averred, "that they had done nothing against the Romans with an hostile intention." As I cannot deny but that something like this might have happened between the generals, the Romans being uneasy to see the Carthaginians at Tarentum, which their commander, according to custom, endeavored to vindicate in the best manner he could, or that the two republics may have argued the affair at a public conference; so I think there were other and juster grounds for the war that broke out soon after. My reasons for this opinion are, because hostilities did not commence between the two states immediately, and the war, which broke out in Sicily soon after, was chiefly undertaken in behalf of the Mamertines, and that while

CHAP.  
XLVI.



the treaty between Rome and Carthage subsisted. When the consuls were on their road to Rome, after the great addition which they had made to the dominions of the republic, the citizens went to meet them and congratulate them, and they both triumphed with universal approbation and great glory.

CHAP. XLVII.  DURING these transactions Q. Fabius Gurges and the rest of the ambassadors who had been sent to Alexandria, made the following report in the senate concerning the success of their embassy, “ that  
 “ they had been received and entertained in the  
 “ most civil and obliging manner ; the king had  
 “ sent them rich presents upon their arrival, and  
 “ given them more magnificent ones upon their departure ; it appeared to them more suitable to  
 “ the Roman dignity and moderation modestly to  
 “ refuse the first presents that were made them ;  
 “ and the first thing they did upon their return,  
 “ was to put the other presents which they had  
 “ been obliged to accept of into the treasury of  
 “ the Roman people ; when they were invited to  
 “ a formal entertainment at Alexandria, the king  
 “ had, according to the custom of his predecessors,  
 “ sent them crowns of gold, which they accepted  
 “ purely out of good manners, and afterwards put  
 “ them upon his statues in the night.” The senate were so well pleased with the success of their embassy, and the prudent behavior of the ambassadors, that they returned them thanks, because “ they had  
 “ by their moderation made the Roman manners  
 “ be highly respected among foreign nations,” and ordered the presents which they had put into the treasury to be restored to them. The people likewise, declaring, “ affairs could only be well managed, if the shameful desire of growing rich  
 “ by public employments should be entirely taken  
 “ away,” immediately confirmed the decree of the senate ; and the quæstors having readily restored them the money, as they were commanded, these men who deserved this reward for their disinterestedness




ness, with equal glory first refused and afterwards received the Egyptian presents. For the same reason, I suppose, Q. Fabius who had been at the head of the embassy was preferred before so many eminent men to be prince of the senate by the censors M. Curius and L. Papirius. And indeed his noble family, the signal services of his father's two consulships, which he had discharged, and as many triumphs which he had obtained, made him appear with as much lustre, as any man in Rome.

IN this consulate M. Curius the censor proposed to bring the waters of the river Anio to the city<sup>a</sup>; the expence of which was to be defrayed with the booty taken from the enemy. So far was he from enriching himself with these spoils, that when some malicious persons accused him of embezzling the public money, he brought into the assembly of the people a wooden cruet, which he used in sacrificing, and swore, “that was the only thing of all the plunder taken from the enemy that he had carried into his house.” This Curius was a man who, on account of his great achievements in war, and the many signal proofs he gave of a superior virtue in other respects, hath well deserved to have some of the most remarkable of his actions and sayings transmitted to posterity in a short digression. Nor do I think it unworthy of or impertinent for an historian to take notice of these things, whereby those persons, who intend to engage in the service of the public, may receive as much instruction how to seek for happiness by the practice of virtue, as they can do from military actions and counsels. In the Sabine war, when the quantity of booty taken from them was so great, that Fabius the historian affirms the Romans then first got a taste for riches, Curius, without reaping any other advantage from his rich conquest, but a good conscience and a fair character, continued in his former poverty and laborious way of life, the same man being both the pattern and strict guardian of public moderation.

CHAP.  
XLVIII.

<sup>a</sup> See below book xvii. chap. lxi.



CHAP. XLIX.  FOR the greatest part of the land taken from the Sabines being confiscated, he distributed only four acres to each private man; and when the senate would have assigned him a larger share, he was content with the same quantity which he had given others, often using this expression, “that he was a  
 “bad citizen who could not be contented with what  
 “satisfied others.” Here he built a country-house which was called after his name; and when the Sabines, whom he had conquered a little before, happened to come, and finding him roasting turnips in it, offered him a large sum of gold, which they had brought him as a present, he said, “I had rather  
 “eat these turnips out of earthen dishes, and rule  
 “over those who are possessed of that gold.” Afterwards the elder Cato had some estates in the neighborhood of this house, whither he used to come frequently, and upon seeing this poor little cottage, and the small farm which this great man, after three triumphs, had cultivated with his own hands, and at the same time calling to mind a life led in the most abstemious manner, he disposed his mind to the like moderation, in imitation of Curius’s primitive simplicity and virtue. To speak the truth, extraordinary men were absolutely necessary to lay such a solid foundation of a future empire, that it should both be able to bear the superstructure, stand against all attacks from external enemies, and at last, after long and severe shocks, be pulled to pieces by distempers in it’s own vitals.

End of the FOURTEENTH BOOK.



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JOHN FREINSHEIM'S  
SUPPLEMENT  
TO THE  
ROMAN HISTORY  
BY

TITUS LIVIUS of Padua.

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DECADE II. BOOK XV.

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*The Tarentines being reduced have peace and liberty granted them. The Campanian legion which had seized Rhegium, besieged, and, after surrendering, beheaded. Some young fellows of Rome beat the ambassadors of the Apollonians who had been sent to the senate, and are delivered up to that people. The Picentes defeated obtain peace. Colonies led to Ariminum in Picenum, and to Beneventum in Samnium. The Romans first begin to use silver for their current money. The Umbrians and Salentines subdued, and their submission accepted. The number of quæstors increased to eight.*

THE most powerful enemies of the republic being reduced after long struggles, and a general tranquillity restored in Italy, it remained for the fathers to consider how they might make a right improvement of their victory. The people thought fit to deprive all those who had bore arms against the state of a part of their lands; but the Tarentines being greater offenders were more severely punished. They were ordered to deliver up their ships and arms: their walls were likewise demolished, a tribute was

CHAP.  
I.



**CHAP.** <sup>I.</sup> was imposed upon their state, and they had only peace and liberty granted them. After this, they thought nothing more worthy their consideration, than how they should punish the perfidy of the Campanian legion which had treacherously circumvented the inhabitants of Rhegium, seized their city and kept possession of it ten years, as if it had been their own. But these traitors having foreseen, that, as the Roman republic flourished every day more and more, their villainy would not escape unpunished, and knowing well that what had been got by fraud and violence, could not be long kept but by the same arts, had carefully prepared every thing necessary for fortifying the city, and procured succors to enable them to make a bold defence. Besides their own natural fierceness they depended on the friendship of the Mamertines, and were encouraged by their success against the Carthaginians and afterwards against Pyrrhus, who had given them an opportunity to try their own mettle and the strength of their city, by obliging their enemies to lay aside all thoughts of besieging it. Upon this the rebels and deserters were in such high spirits, that they had the boldness to seize Crotona by the assistance of villains who betrayed it to them, and proceeded so far as to murder the Roman garrison and demolish the town.

**CHAP.** <sup>II.</sup> **L. GENUCIUS**, whose colleague in the consulate that year was **C. Quinctius**, was ordered to chastise their insolence. He drove the rebels into their city and laid siege to it. But being assisted by the Mamertines they made a bold resistance; and when the consul after several losses was straitened for want of provisions, **Hiero** king of Syracuse sent him both men and corn. This prince was a bitter enemy to the Mamertines, and likewise hated their allies who held Rhegium; besides the growing greatness of the Romans induced him to send them succors, that by doing them kind offices first, he might attach them to his interest on future occasions. At last the town was obliged to surrender; the consul made the Mamertines

**L. Genucius**  
and **C. Quinctius**  
consuls.

Y. of R. 481.

B. J. C. 271.



mertines submit to his terms and dismissed them ; the outlaws and robbers who had fled in great numbers to Rhegium as to an asylum, he put to death, but he brought the legionary soldiers to Rome to be judged by the senate.

UPON this there ensued a remarkable instance of public severity. For the senate first sentenced " all those whom the consul had brought from Rhegium to be confined in prison, and that they should be carried thence and executed." And when M. Fulvius Flaccus, tribune of the people, opposed the decree of the senate, declaring, " that they should not condemn Roman citizens to be capitally punished contrary to the law and the customs of their ancestors," the fathers had resolution enough to despise the clamors of this tribune, and the criminals were executed. However, in order to alleviate the odium which the severity of this punishment might be apt to raise, and to abate the grief of the people, who might be shocked if so great a number of men should be executed at one time, they brought out fifty of them a day, and first scourged and then beheaded them. The senate likewise forbade their bodies to be buried, or any mourning to be made for them. Decius Jubellius, who had lived to this time after he had lost his eyes, that he might die with the more pain, laid violent hands upon himself in prison.

CHAP.

III.

WHEN I said that this whole legion, consisting of four thousand men, were all beheaded in the forum of Rome, I have followed the majority of historians ; but I believe the account given by Polybius is truer. He says, " that there did not fall above three hundred at most of that legion into the consul's hands. That all the rest chose rather to die by making a gallant resistance during the siege, as knowing full well, that considering the enormous crimes they had been guilty of, they could expect nothing but repeated tortures, and to be put to death at last with greater ignominy." Diligent

CHAP.

IV.



CHAP.  
IV.

C. Genucius  
and Cn.  
Cornelius  
consuls.  
Y. of R. 482.  
B. J. C. 370.

ligent enquiry was made for the old inhabitants of Rhegium, and those who could be found, were re-instituted in the possession of their estates, liberties and laws. This signal proof which the Romans gave of their justice and honor, raised the reputation of their state prodigiously, and made them to be as much beloved among their neighbors, and the other states of Italy, as the terror of their arms made them dreaded by them. In the following consulate, which was that of C. Genucius and Cn. Cornelius, war was carried on against the Sarsinates<sup>a</sup>. They were a canton of the Umbrians inhabiting the Apennine mountains; but as we have no account left us by the historians of those times, what was the cause of their taking arms, or with what hopes of success they could oppose the formidable power of the Romans, I cannot conjecture. For the history of the war is entirely lost, and we find no farther account of the matter in ancient records, but that Cn. Cornelius triumphed over the Sarsinates.

CHAP.  
V.

Q. Ogulnius  
and C. Fa-  
bius consuls.  
Y. of R. 483.  
B. J. C. 269.

DURING this consulate there is said to have been a terrible severe winter at Rome; the sap of the trees was dried up and they withered, the Tyber was frozen and the ice of it thick; great and small cattle died for want of forage, and so great was the inclemency of the weather, that snow of a prodigious depth lay for forty days together in the Roman forum. As this was an unusual thing, it was according to custom looked upon as ominous, and filled mens minds with strong fears, which were nevertheless increased under the consulship of Q. Ogulnius Gallus and C. Fabius Pictor, when many prodigies were seen and talked of. For the temple of the Goddess Health<sup>a</sup> at Rome was struck with lightning, and part of the wall under the same place shattered.

<sup>a</sup> Or Sarsinates. They inhabited Sarsina, which retains the same name to this day, and stands on the left side of the Savio. It was the birth-place of the famous comedian Atius Plautus.

<sup>a</sup> The Greeks call her Hygieia. She passes for the daughter of Æsculapius, and is represented under the figure of a woman, sitting near an altar, round which a serpent is wreathed, to which she offers drink in a cup.



Three wolves came in the night into the middle of CHAP. the city, and brought with them a dead carcase V. which they had half devoured, and after tearing the remainder in pieces left them in the forum, being frightened away with the noise of the men. It was reported from abroad that lightning had fallen several times upon the walls of Formiæ<sup>b</sup> and had thrown them down. It was also said that in a plain near Cales<sup>c</sup>, the earth opened all on a sudden, and that there burst out of it a winged flame which continued burning three days, that it reduced five acres of ground to a cinder, and consumed not only all the corn nigh the place, but also dried up the trees to the very roots. The consternation which these prodigies occasioned at Rome was much greater than any harm they did the state. For nothing extraordinary happened, only a war broke out with the Picentes, which was ended the next year and their country added to the Roman domain.

ABOUT this time, the wealth of the republic being greatly encreased by the uninterrupted success of her arms, the consuls first began to coin silver for current coin, for before this, the Romans had used no other money in commerce but pieces of brass. But now pieces of silver called Denarii<sup>a</sup> and Quinarii<sup>b</sup> were coined, which were each worth so many asses of brass. There were likewise other lesser pieces coined worth two asses and a half, called from their value, festerces. This silver was called Moneta because it was coined in the temple of Juno Capitolina. The Goddess had this surname given her,

<sup>b</sup> Between Cajeta and Minturnæ.

<sup>c</sup> In Campania.

<sup>a</sup> It is most certain, that, according to the unanimous opinion of all ancient authors, ten asses, or ten pounds weight of brass money, which when reduced to ounces, by multiplying them by twelve, amount to a hundred and twenty ounces, make one Denarius. Supposing then the proportion of silver and brass to be as one to twenty-six, which is as great a difference as can well be imagined ;

upon this supposition, the Denarius must have weighed an ounce, before the several reductions it underwent in the several ages of the republic and empire. Notwithstanding the augmentations of the value of the denarii, according to the present circumstances and wants, they always preserved their characterick mark, viz. the letter X, which, on some medals, has a transversal line running through the middle of it.

<sup>b</sup> The half of the Denarius.



CHAP. VI. because in the war with Pyrrhus and the Tarentines, when the Romans, being straitned for want of money, consulted her in what manner they might be supplied, she had answered, “ That they should never want “ money, while they continued to practise justice “ and to cultivate the art of war.” The consuls Q. Gallus and C. Fabius marched to reduce one Lollius a Samnite. He had been an hostage at Rome, but having made his escape sily had seized a strong fort in Samnium, robbed all the country, and excited his countrymen to revolt who were not very sincerely disposed to peace.

CHAP. VII. HOWEVER as his followers were composed of rascally banditti and mostly unarmed, he did not hold out long; but the Caricini<sup>a</sup> a canton of the Samnites lying near the Frentani<sup>b</sup>, gave the Romans much more trouble and brought them into greater danger. Whilst they endeavored to make themselves masters of the strong fort where Lollius had lodged his plunder and were in great hopes of carrying their point, by a sudden accident, they were struck with terror. After that they recovered from their consternation and quickly gained a complete victory. Some of the besiegers induced by a promise of having their lives spared let the Roman troops into the city in a moon light night. The townsmen ran to arms in surprize, and while they were engaged, a great quantity of snow falling all on a sudden made it so dark, that they could not see one another. This gave the Caricini so much advantage over the Romans who knew nothing of the place, that they were in the utmost danger of being defeated, and were just upon the point of retreating, when it ceased to snow all on a sudden and the moon shone out again. Upon this the Romans delivered from their fears occasioned by the darkness of the night, quick-

<sup>a</sup> They are conjectured to have been a people of Samnium. Zonarus says they gave their name to Castellum Caricium.

<sup>b</sup> Their country lay in the eastern parts of Italy, and is now a part of the *Hither Abruzzio* and *Capitanata*.



ly opened themselves a way to victory with the sword. These disturbances seem to have prevented the present consuls from putting an end to the war with the Picentes.

THE following year, the consuls P. Sempronius Sophus and Ap. Claudius Crassus the son of Cæcus having entered into their office, continued to prosecute this war and brought it to such a conclusion as they wished. About this time the republic thought fit to send a colony to take possession of Ariminum<sup>a</sup> in the country of Picenum, which had formerly belonged to the Galli Senones. Another was ordered to be led to Maleventum in Samnium, and, because the name seemed ominous, it was changed, and the colony afterwards called Beneventum. About this time the Sabines, who had been admitted to the privilege of Roman citizens some years before, had likewise the right of suffrage granted them. Claudius also performed several exploits in Umbria; for he took the city Camarinum<sup>b</sup> and exposed the inhabitants to sale. Nevertheless as this general seemed not to have acted according to the strict rules of equity, the Romans shewed more regard to justice than to their own interest; for they ordered the Camertines to be sought for, and to be redeemed from those who had bought them. They likewise admitted them to the privilege of Roman citizens, assigned them a place for their dwellings on the Aventine hill, and restored them their own estates."

BUT the Romans discovered more joy on their conquest of the Picentes, and they thought that victory worthy of being stamp'd on the silver denarii which they had lately begun to coin, both in order to make it speedily and more universally known, and to preserve the memory of it to after ages. Accordingly Q. Cædicius the son of Quintus, by virtue of a decree of senate, caused pieces of money to be

CHAP.  
VIII.


P. Sempronius Sophus and Ap. Claudius consuls.  
Y. of R. 484.  
B. J. C. 268.


CHAP.  
IX.

<sup>a</sup> Now Rimini, a little way from the Rubicon. It took it's name from the river Ariminus, which the natives now call Paracchia.

<sup>b</sup> It stood where now stands Camerino, near the Apennines.



CHAP. IX.  coined, representing Picus the son of Saturn, who is believed to be the founder of the nation, on one side and on the other a Roman consul stretching out his right hand to one in a supplicating posture. It is very certain the strength of the republic received a considerable addition from the reduction of this nation, because no less than three hundred and sixty thousand Picentes are said to have submitted to the Roman people. The consuls both deserved a triumph on account of their success, and they obtained it; but the greatest share of the glory of it fell to P. Sempronius, because he had engaged a more numerous army of the enemy, been exposed to greater danger by them, and conquered them after a more obstinate resistance. For a very extraordinary event happened, when both armies were drawn up and just ready to engage, the ground between them all on a sudden trembled.

CHAP. X.  THE Roman soldiers were terrified, but the consul encouraged them by a speech suitable to the occasion. He told them “the Picentes could not but be  
 “as much affrighted with a groundless scruple as they,  
 “and that army would certainly get the victory which  
 “should first throw off their imaginary fright, and  
 “fall upon their adversaries before they were come to  
 “themselves.” Having said this and “vowed a temple to the Goddess Tellus, if she should give the  
 “Romans the victory” he charged the enemy. Nor were they less eager to engage, and the slaughter on both sides was so great, that not even one half of the victorious army is said to have come off the field. After this action, not only the other cities belonging to the Picentes surrendered to Sempronius, but even Asculum<sup>a</sup> their capital, a city very strong both by nature and art. Upon this the whole nation of the Picentes following its example, obtained peace from the senate. And now all that part of Italy that lay towards the Sicilian and Ionian seas was entirely subdued, except only the Salentines who inhabited the furthest part

<sup>a</sup> See book xiii. p. 205.



of Italy, where the Ionian is joined to the Adriatic sea. After the reduction of the Picentes, the war reached them like an infection and was declared against them in the consulship of M. Atilius Regulus and L. Julius Libo. The Romans charged them with having received Pyrrhus when he came from Epirus into their ports and cities.

M. Atilius  
Regulus and  
L. Jul. Libo  
consuls,  
Y. of R. 485.  
B. J. C. 267.

BUT the harbor of Brundisium<sup>a</sup>, which was so conveniently situated, that the same wind would both carry ships out of port and bring them in; the short passage from thence to Illyricum and Epirus, and which seemed a greater convenience to them, an opportunity of extending their dominions to the extremities of Italy, were looked upon to be the true causes of the war. Both the consuls triumphed over them in one day, which was the twenty fifth of January. They had defeated the Salentines in battle, taken Brundisium, which was the most considerable city in that district, and gained several other victories by the assistance of Pales the Goddess of shepherds, “ who is said of her own accord to have desired them to consecrate a temple to her at Rome as an acknowledgment for the victory obtained through her means.” Thus the greater part of the Salentines being subdued, the war was finished by the consuls for the following year, who were Numerius Fabius the son of Caius and grandson of Marcus, and D. Junius Pera the son of Decius and grandson to one of that name. The Umbrians and Salentines submitted to them.

CHAP.  
XI.

Numerius  
Fabius and  
D. Junius  
Pera consuls,  
Y. of R. 486.  
B. J. C. 266.

AND thus Rome having made herself mistress of all Italy from the river Po to the two seas, her greatness soon came to be respected in the neighboring islands, and in the continent joining to the Ionian and Adriatic seas, some nations expecting her protection and others dreading her arms. For those who were ambitious of aggrandizing themselves by ruining their neighbors, were afraid the Romans would obstruct their designs, while they on the other hand cheer-

CHAP.  
XII.

<sup>a</sup> A maritime city on the coast of the Adriatic sea, and is now called Brindes or Brindisi.



CHAP.

XII.



fully accepted their protection against the oppression of their adversaries, as if it had been sent them from heaven. The Apolloniates<sup>a</sup> first sent ambassadors to Rome, desiring her protection. This city stood sixty furlongs from the sea, was built by the Corinthians and Corcyreans, had a convenient harbor, from whence there was the nearest passage from Brundisium to Greece. It was surrounded by the Macedonians and Illyrians, and had much ado to preserve it's liberty amidst these powerful nations, which coveted mightily to get it into their hands. The senate received the ambassadors with honor, not so much out of respect to that city, the power of which was but small, as with a view to futurity, and in hopes that they had thereby opened themselves a way to greater matters. For this reason, they were soon after the more severe in their punishment of some young patricians, who, in a commotion that happened, had beat and abused these ambassadors.

CHAP.

XIII.



ONE of them, Q. Fabius, was ædile, yet neither the dignity of his office nor the quality of his family could save him from being delivered to the Apolloniates. With him likewise was delivered Cn. Apronius, who was vested with the same office and had been guilty of the same crime. For the sentence of the senate was, “ that the feciales should deliver “ them to the ambassadors of the Apolloniates, and “ that a questor should go with them to Brundisium, “ lest the friends and relations of Fabius and A- “ pronius should do the ambassadors some mischief “ on the road.” This was truly a remarkable instance of public honor and of no less policy; for as they were desirous to engage foreigners to their friendship by an opinion of their justice, it concerned them very much to punish the injuries, done to those who had come first to contract an alliance with them, in the most exemplary manner. For nothing could have been so prejudicial to their designs, as to have

<sup>a</sup> Apollonia stood on the western the sea. It was watered by the Aöus, coast of Macedon, sixty stadia from now Polina.



given the Apolloniates any cause to repent of what they had done, or others to disapprove of the example they had set them. And from the manifest advantages they reaped from this conduct, it became a custom, which was constantly observed by the republic ever after, that those who beat or insulted the ambassadors of a free state were delivered into the hands of the injured nation. Howbeit the Apolloniates judging wisely, that it would be more for their interest to treat Fabius and Apronius with kindness than severity, sent them back safe to Rome.

CHAP.  
XIII.

THIS year, the consuls obtained each the honor of two different triumphs. D. Junius entered Rome in triumph on the twenty seventh of September and Fabius on the fifth of October, for having conquered the Sarfinates a canton of the Umbrians. And Fabius enjoyed the same honor again on the first, as did Junius on the fifth of February, for having subdued the Messapians who had assisted the Salentines their neighbors. And thus, an end was put to all the wars in Italy for this time. For that in which the consuls Q. Fabius Gurgus for the third time, and L. Mamilius Vitulus were engaged the following year against the Volfinians, was not a war declared against enemies, but only the taking vengeance on some profligate slaves, in behalf of their allies. The Volfinians, the most opulent nation of Etruria, implored the protection of the Roman people against their own slaves. For in hopes either of being able to repair the strength of their state, which had been greatly reduced in former wars, or that being dissolved in pleasures, they avoided the fatigues of war, they were guilty of a very foolish piece of policy; for they gave their slaves their liberty, made them free of the city, and committed the exercise of arms entirely to them. After this they shared the honors of the state with their masters, for they were chosen into the senate and preferred to be magistrates.

Q. Fabius  
Gurgus and  
L. Mamilius  
Vitulus  
consuls.  
Y. of R. 487.  
B. J. C. 265.

BY this means after they had oppressed the old citizens and engrossed the whole direction of affairs

CHAP.  
XV.



CHAP. into their own hands, they used the liberty granted  
 XV. them by their masters most tyrannically against them.  
 It was common for them to force ladies and virgins of quality, and when their husbands and parents complained of these injuries, and insisted that they should be punished according to law, they insulted and abused them; these impudent scoundrels plundered, tore and confounded every thing at pleasure. Nor must we omit a glaring instance of the brutal impudence to which servile souls can rise, if they have got but power; for they made a law “that freed-  
 “men should have a right to lye with the wives  
 “and daughters of their patrons: and that one of  
 “that order should have the maidenhead of every  
 “virgin who should marry a man free born.” Wherefore the ancient Volfinians being unable to endure these grievances any longer, or to redress them by their own strength, met privately and resolved to send deputies to Rome to implore her assistance. As they foresaw they would be ruined if their negotiation should take air, they secretly entreated the fathers to meet in a private house, where they represented the miseries of their city in a most pathetic speech. The senate was moved with compassion, and promised to assist their unfortunate allies to recover their former rights.

CHAP. BUT though these things were thought to have  
 XVI. been transacted secretly, a Samnite discovered them to the persons accused. He had been hospitably entertained by the master of the house where the senate met, and happening to be sick and to be left in the room through forgetfulness, heard all that passed and betrayed it. Accordingly as soon as the deputies were returned home, they were examined by torture, and being obliged to discover the whole negotiation, they and other most eminent men of the city were cruelly executed. These proceedings gave the Romans juster grounds to begin hostilities, and Q. Fabius the consul being sent with an army against them, they boldly faced him in the field; but he routed them, slew a great  
 number



number of them in their flight, raised works and resolved to besiege the remainder who retired into their fortifications. However as they made a stout resistance, frequent skirmishes happened between them and the besiegers, in one of which the consul, having rashly exposed himself to the darts of the enemy, was wounded and died in the cure. Upon this, the besieged made a bold sally with all their forces, in hopes that the Romans, disheartened by the loss of their general, might be surprized and obliged to raise the siege.

BUT the event convinced them of the contrary; for the Roman soldiers gave them a warm reception, and drove them back into the city with great loss. Decius Mus, I believe, commanded in this action, who was probably lieutenant-general in Fabius's army, and continued to prosecute the war, till another should come to command in room of Fabius deceased. And this I judge to be the reason, that some negligent historians ascribe the beginning and the finishing of it to this Decius Mus. This year likewise Cn. Cornelius Blasio the son of Lucius and grandson of Cneus, and C. Marcius were elected censors, the latter of whom had the honorable title of Cenforinus given him, because he had discharged the office of censor before. The moderation of this Marcius deserves particular notice; for after the people had conferred on him an office, which he had not sought for, he summoned them to an assembly and reproached them very sharply, "for entrusting that authority twice to the same man, seeing their ancestors had thought it necessary to shorten the time of it's continuance, for no other reason, but because it's power was too great." However his speech had this effect, that a law was made "that no person should exercise the office of censor twice."

CHAP.  
XVII.

THE same year the number of questors was increased. Four had been sufficient till this time, two for the city and as many to attend the consuls when they went to war. But the late prodigious increase of the republic, and the many taxes and im-

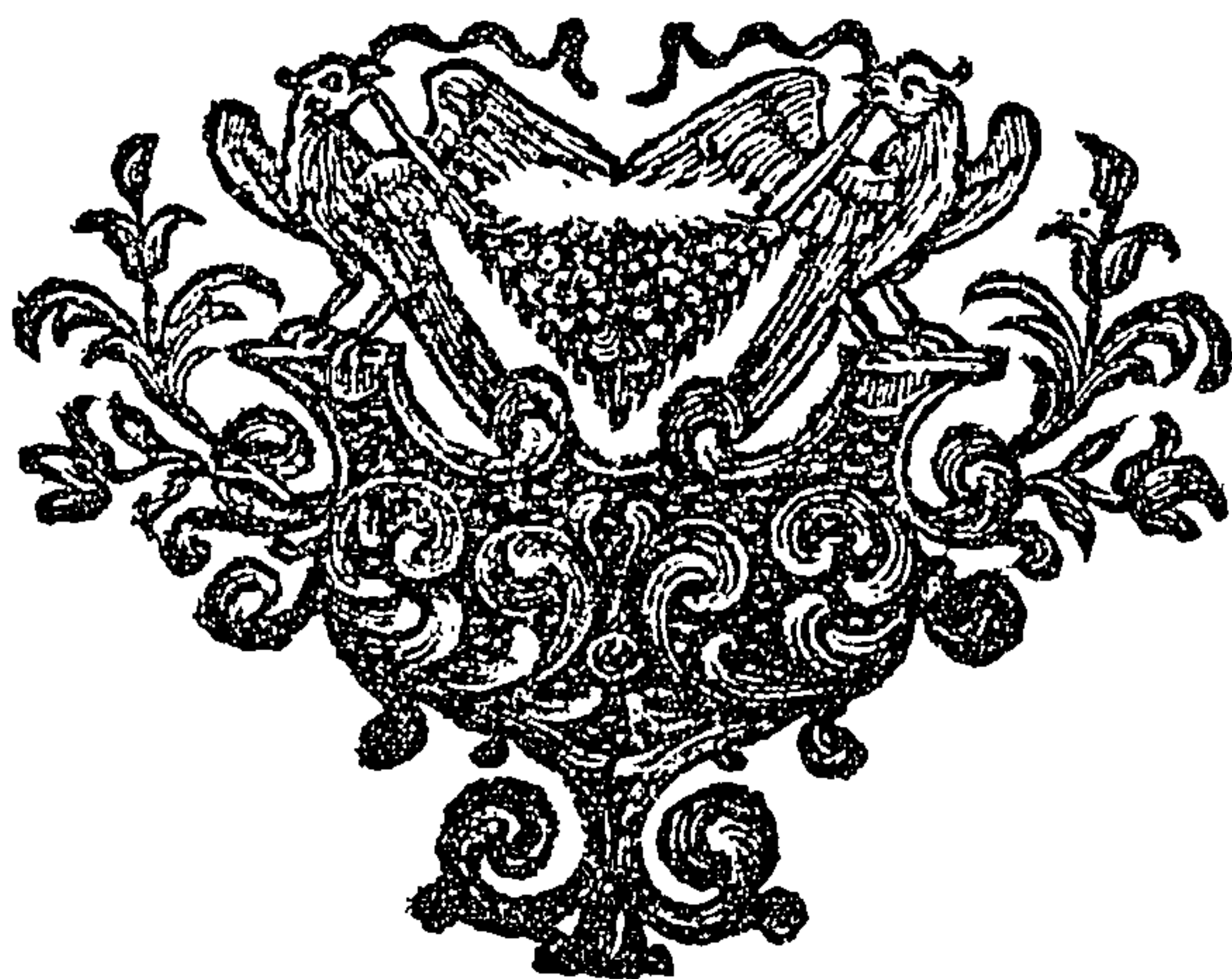
CHAP.  
XVIII.



CHAP.  
XVIII.App. Claud.  
Caudex and  
M. Tullius  
Flaccus  
consuls.  
Y. of R. 488.  
B. J. C. 264.

posts that were paid her, made it necessary to appoint double the number of these officers. The following consuls were Appius Claudius who, in the time of his office, got the surname of Caudex, and M. Fulvius Flaccus. This year was memorable for the commencement of the war against the Carthaginians in Sicily. Then the quarrel first broke out between these two most powerful republics, which after lasting many years and many terrible overthrows given and received on both sides, could not be ended but by the entire destruction of one of them. Nevertheless before we enter upon the history of these wars, it will be necessary to take account of the early ages of Carthage, because it will be difficult either to understand or judge of many passages of our accounts of these transactions, unless the reader be acquainted with the origin and increase of that republic.

End of the FIFTEENTH BOOK.





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JOHN FREINSHEIM'S  
SUPPLEMENT  
TO THE  
ROMAN HISTORY

BY

TITUS LIVIUS of Padua.

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DECADE II. BOOK XVI.

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*An account of the origin of the Carthaginians, and the rise of their city. Against them, and Hiero king of Syracuse, the Roman senate decree to aid the Mamertines. After much debate on that affair, between those who advised and those who opposed this step, at length the Roman knights cross the sea, and several times fight against Hiero with success. Hiero sues for peace and it is granted him. The censors perform a lustrum, and the number of citizens enrolled amounts to two hundred ninety-two thousand two hundred and twenty-four. D. Junius Brutus entertains the Romans with a combat of gladiators, in honor of his deceased father. He is the first who exhibited this entertainment. A colony settled at Esernia. Besides, this book contains the victories over the Carthaginians and Volsci.*

THAT Carthage<sup>a</sup> was founded by Phœnicians CHAP. I.  
of Tyre<sup>b</sup> is certain, and sufficiently attested  
by the amity that constantly subsisted between those  
two states as long as they flourished, besides the testi-  
mony of ancient history, and the manifest similitude  
of their language, which remains to this day. The

<sup>a</sup> See below note e.

of Phœnicia. See Prideaux's Con-  
nect. b. I. under the year 740.

<sup>b</sup> A most famous city in the island

tradition



CHAP. I. tradition is, that a Tyrian princess <sup>c</sup>, named Elisa, and  
 furnamed Dido, daughter of Agenor son of Belos, fled  
 from her native country, because she hated her brother Pygmalion on account of his inhuman murder of her husband Sichæus <sup>d</sup>, and arrived at that peninsula, in the gulf of Afric, where Carthage was afterwards built <sup>e</sup>; and it's beginning was so inconsiderable, as not to give any hope of it's rising to that grandeur and power to which it afterwards attained. For it is believed that Elisa purchased no more land from the inhabitants than an ox's hyde would surround. But she cut it into very small thongs, by which it took in a greater space of ground, than the sellers understood to have been demanded: so that the place was large enough to build a citadel on, which from thence, it is thought, was called Byrsa <sup>f</sup>. Afterwards when many of the natives, for the convenience of traffic with these foreigners, had built houses near this citadel, whereby it had now the appearance of a city; and the Africans were desirous of retaining those civil

<sup>c</sup> Justin. xviii. 4—6. Appian. de bell. Punic. p. 1.

<sup>d</sup> Some call him Sicharbas, and others Acerbas. He was high-priest of the Tyrian Hercules, was the second man in the kingdom and immensely rich. His wife had been left, by her father Agenor, coheiress of his crown with her brother Pygmalion, who, fearing his sister, when supported by so opulent a husband, might deprive him of his crown, killed Sichæus with his own hand, and then went to seize his treasure. But his sister privately conveyed it aboard some vessels, and fled in quest of a new settlement.

<sup>e</sup> It was a very advantageous situation, as it stood almost at an equal distance from the eastern and western boundaries of the Mediterranean, and the country supplied it with all manner of corn for it's support. Authors differ extremely about the time of it's foundation. The poet Virgil, to magnify the glory of Rome, has committed a great anachronism, which may easily be pardoned in a poet. Ap-

pian speaks very ambiguously of it. Varro and Dionys. Hal. do not determine the exact time. Josephus follows Menander of Ephesus, who was one of the authors of the Tyrian annals. Sir Isaac Newton makes it coincide with the reign of Jehoram king of Judah, founding Carthage eight hundred eighty-three years before Christ, twenty-one after the destruction of Troy, and two hundred fifty-six before the foundation of Rome, which he brings down to the thirty-eighth olympiad, chron. p. 32, 38, 108, 128—130. Mons. Rollin observes one epoch in his *ancient history*, and another in the introduction to the fifth vol. of his *Roman history*, where he fixes the building of Carthage to the three thousand one hundred twenty-first year of the world, thirteen before Rome, and eight hundred eighty-three before the birth of Christ. Velleius Paterculus places it about sixty-five years before Rome.

<sup>f</sup> From the Phœnician word *Botfra*, which signifies a citadel. See Bochart, *Ganaan*, book 1, c. 24.



and wealthy people amongst them, the new comers readily listened to the embassadors that came from Utica<sup>g</sup>, to advise them “after their example,” for Utica was likewise a Tyrian colony, “to build a city in those parts.” In consequence of this the Phœnicians entered into articles with the Africans, “who were to give them ground to build a city on, for which they were to pay a yearly tribute.”

WHEN the building of the city was finished, Elisa gave it the name of Carthada, which in her native language signified the New City; the Greeks called it Carchedon, and the Romans, by altering the pronunciation as usual, Carthago. This city, by the favor of quiet neighbors, having industrious inhabitants, and, which is the main consideration, a wise queen, increased and acquired power in a surprising manner. These things seem to have been done about seventy years before the building of Rome; for authors differ widely about this period, as they commonly do in matters of so great antiquity. But as Elisa's life was remarkable on account of various incidents, so was her death memorable. Hiarbus, a petty prince of some African province, courted her for marriage, and menaced her with war, in case she did not accept of him for a husband. But as she was a princess of remarkable chastity, and retained an inviolable affection for her former spouse, she was utterly averse to marriage. However, as she was sensible war would be destructive to her state, which was yet in it's tender infancy, she took some time to deliberate. And at length, as if she had conquered her heart, and would marry the African, she commanded “a pile to be erected” in the farthest part of the city, under pretext, “of appeasing the manes of her dear Sichæus, before she should contract a new marriage.” After sacrificing many victims, at last she herself ascended the pile, and put an end to her life with a sword which she had brought along

CHAP.

II.



<sup>g</sup> The present *Biserte*, ten or twelve leagues from Tunis.



with her, her affection for her husband and subjects far exceeding the care she had of her own life. The Carthaginians honored her memory as much as they could ; and in admiration of her virtue worshipped her as a Goddess, as long as their state subsisted. A temple was erected to her in the spot where she ended her days, and she was called Dido, a name which the Carthaginians in their language give to heroines.

## CHAP.

III.



AS no single person was esteemed worthy to succeed to the kingdom after Elisa, they from this time began to form a republican government, dividing the authority between the nobles and commons. Yet the title of king was retained ; but their kings were like those of Lacedæmon, excepting in this instance, that that dignity, without being confined to any particular family, was bestowed on any of the nobility who excelled the rest in wealth and good qualities. They had the management of war abroad ; and hence were called prætors and dictators by the Romans, when they compared their government with their own. At home they were presidents of the public councils, with whom they deliberated on state affairs. However matters of greatest importance were laid before the people, whose judgment was decisive when the king and senate differed. The commons likewise had a right of repealing the acts of the king and council, if they thought them prejudicial to the state, (for every individual had a right to remonstrate.) Which excessive power of the people, when served to an extravagant pitch by flatterers, a step which such sort of persons delight in, proved in after-times extremely detrimental to the Carthaginian state. Moreover they had in their senate thirty elderly men, who formed a kind of privy council, and had a vast influence over the rest of the senators. They had likewise a præfect who had the cognizance of morals, and was vested with an authority like a censor, for the keeping up decency and good order.



IN process of time, when the power of the Carthaginians was considerably augmented, several commanders were chosen for carrying on their wars. CHAP. IV.

The most accomplished and successful of all that number was one Mago, who having left two sons whom he trained up in his own accomplishments, and they likewise transmitted the same to a more numerous progeny, it happened to be thought necessary to make some new regulation for restraining the excessive power of his family. Wherefore the tribunal of an hundred was created with power to pass sentence on the generals themselves. This was a very formidable court both in regard to the extent and duration of its power, which continued for life; whereas the very kings were not appointed for that term, and only for one year. In Carthage these hundred were called *suffetes*<sup>a</sup>, or judges, and were what consuls were at Rome<sup>b</sup>. But having behaved themselves with insolence, they were restrained within proper bounds by a law which was proposed by Hannibal, whereby it was enacted, “that these judges should be chosen annually, and none bear that office for two years together.”

THEY for the most part retained the religious usages which they brought from Tyre, and likewise adopted afterwards a few others. The chief divinity that they worshipped was Juno<sup>a</sup>. They had also a great veneration for *Æsculapius*<sup>b</sup>, to whom they erected a magnificent temple within their citadel. There was likewise a rich temple of Apollo, covered with plates of gold, and a famous statue of that God, which at the sack of Carthage was trans-

<sup>a</sup> This word in the Hebrew and Phœnician language signifies judges.

<sup>b</sup> And what the Ephori were at Sparta.

<sup>a</sup> St. Austin says they honored her with a peculiar sort of worship called *astarte*. Virgil. *Æn.* 1. calls Carthage her favorite city. Sir Isaac Newton, *chron.* p. 134, 138. makes her Danaë, daughter of Eurydice, daughter of Lacedæmon, founder of Sparta.

<sup>b</sup> They were fond of this divinity, because, according to a tradition among them, he was born of a woman of their country. Sir Isaac Newton, *chron.* p. 26, 27. makes him one of the Argonauts that went in their expedition nine hundred thirty-seven years before Christ. And says he was deified three hundred years before the founding of Rome, according to his calculation.



CHAP. V. ported to Rome and set up near the circus maximus. But they sent yearly to the Tyrian Hercules<sup>c</sup> a vessel, chosen with great care, loaded with the tenth of the annual produce of their lands and the spoils they had taken in war. They also received, from that people who were their founders, another horrid and impious custom, which was offering human sacrifices yearly to Saturn, whom they called Belos<sup>d</sup>: nor could the remains of this cruelty be utterly abolished and rooted out even with the destruction of their city. The benefit of commerce did for the most part regulate the other manners of this state; for being a people inclined by nature, and the institutions of their ancestors, to trade, they regulated all their measures and resolutions by it, right or wrong.

CHAP. VI. THUS by unavoidable misfortune, the love of riches and honors introduced corruption into their comitia for election of magistrates; weakened merit as it was looked on as inferior to wealth; inspired the people with an excessive passion for getting money, and infected them with a servile habit of cozening and lying, which obliged all orders of the state solely to pursue these vile measures. And from hence it came to pass, that their treaties could never be relied on, and by far the greatest strength of their state lay in their fleet. Infantry at land, the main strength and support of all governments, or cavalry, were either not at all or very little esteemed by them; and as often as they had a land-war to carry on, they employed mercenaries, who bore no affection to their state, whose fidelity was venal, mutinies troublesome, and conspiracies of terrible consequences. So that, till the utter destruction of this state, no other enemy ever drove the Carthaginians so near the brink of ruin, as did

<sup>c</sup> Tully, de nat. Deor. b. 3. says this Hercules was supposed to be the son of Jupiter, by Asteria sister of Latona. See Sir Isaac Newton, chron. p. 111, 112, 113.

<sup>d</sup> See St. Hierom, comment. on the

xxiii. chap. of Ezekiel, and on the ii. chap. of Hosea. Plin. b. 37. p. 10 Cic. de nat. Deor. b. 3. and Sir Isaac Newton, chron. 16, 23, 24, 34, 35 268—280.



this fatal error in their polity. Nor were the seeds of grievances less sown by those, who were in the magistracy and had the chief management of affairs, and practised, by mutual connivance, extortion with impunity. So it may seem less surprizing, if, when war broke out between these two states, the Romans should come off conquerors, as her senators in times of extremity bestowed all their riches to the public, while the Carthaginians made booty of their commonwealth.

CHAP.  
VI.

BUT these vices grew up in proportion with the city. Wherefore at first they were tolerable as they were but inconsiderable, and had not gathered great strength; and for long after the state was able to support itself under them by its greatness, and the remarkable virtue of some of its generals, by whose means in particular I find Carthage procured, and was established in any degree of felicity that she ever enjoyed. Yet from the very first they entered into war with the Africans, who demanded the tribute for the ground whereon their city was built; and they fought many a battle before they could extort a release from that engagement. Then they enlarged their domain, and reduced the best inhabited part of all Africa under their subjection. As to their passing over into Sardinia and Sicily, they were enticed into the former by the convenience of the sea, and the want of skill in arms of the barbarous inhabitants of that island to make head against them. The pleasantness of the island invited them into the latter, which by the continual discords among themselves was exposed as a prey to the longest sword. It was an easy passage from Sardinia to Corsica, and the conquest of a very weak island still less difficult. But for a very long time the fate of their arms in Sicily was various; for in their wars there they were sometimes conquerors and sometimes conquered.

CHAP.  
VII.

HAMILCAR the son of Hanno, having transported three hundred thousand men into Sicily, was defeated and slain by Gelo. The Carthaginians, stunned

CHAP.  
VIII.



**CHAP.** stunned by this blow, came not again into Sicily, till  
**VIII.** at the importunate sollicitations of the Ægeftans<sup>a</sup>,  
 who were hard pressed by the Selinuncii<sup>b</sup>, they sent  
 Hannibal grandson of Hamilcar by his son Gesco.  
 He having razed Selinuns<sup>c</sup> and Himera<sup>d</sup>, gained the  
 Carthaginians once more great power in Sicily. Hi-  
 milco defeated Leptines brother of the elder Dionysius  
 in the streights of Sicily, took and sunk a hundred  
 ships and slew upwards of twenty thousand men.  
 He got possession of many cities in Sicily, and took  
 also part of Syracuse; but a pestilence, which broke  
 out suddenly, and swept away almost his whole  
 army, obliged him to return to Carthage with very  
 few troops. Notwithstanding the Carthaginians did  
 not lay aside thoughts of making themselves masters  
 of Sicily, but a few years after ordered Hanno with  
 his fleet to make war on Dionysius. Afterwards Ti-  
 moleon expelled Mago, who had been called in by  
 Hicetas, and who had already possessed himself of Sy-  
 racuse with sixty thousand foot.

**CHAP.** IMMEDIATELY after came Hannibal and Ha-  
**IX.** milcar with an army of seventy thousand men,  
 which the same Timoleon defeated in a bloody bat-  
 tle, and took their camp. But they never met  
 with a quicker or greater turn of fortune in any  
 war, than in that against Agathocles, who, having  
 been defeated in Sicily and besieged in Syracuse with-  
 out the least probable hopes of safety, carried the  
 war into Africa, defeated the Carthaginians in many  
 battles, while the Lybeans revolted in general to  
 him, and reduced them to the greatest extremity and  
 consternation. After that he returned home and

<sup>a</sup> Their city stood a little way from Lilybæum, beyond Drepanum and Eryx, probably where the town of Barbara now stands, at a little distance from Castella Mare. See below chap. xlv. n. c.

<sup>b</sup> Their city called Selinuns is supposed to have stood in the place now called Terra delli Pulci.

<sup>c</sup> See preceding note.

<sup>d</sup> It had it's name from a river of

the same name. But we must observe there were two rivers of that name in Sicily, one running north, called by the natives *Fiume Grande*, or *Fiume di Termini*, the other running south, called *Il Salso*. The city in question stood on the former, near the mouth of it. There were hot baths near it, therefore the Latines called it *Thermæ Himeræ*.



drove them out of all Sicily: till his death, and the distractions that followed upon the back of it, revived their hopes, and gave them a fair opportunity of recovering their possessions in that island. Upon this, as we have already observed, they fought with various success against Pyrrhus, but in the end got the better. In the mean time they made some cities of Spain tributary to them; for upon the solicitations of their countrymen the inhabitants of Gades<sup>a</sup>, a city likewise built by Tyrians, auxiliaries were sent from Carthage who reduced some neighboring provinces of Spain under subjection to their own state.

THIS was the state of Carthage, when she undertook the war against the Romans. But the Syracusans and their king Hiero possessed the greater part of Sicily which was not under the dominion of Carthage; the Mamertines held the rest by force of arms. This latter people, as long as they could reap advantage from the alliance of those Romans who had seized Rhegium, were not contented with standing on their own defence, but made incursions upon the Carthaginian and Syracusan territories; and at last obliged several cities of Sicily to pay tribute in order to preserve their lands from being pillaged, and themselves from other calamities of war. But when Rhegium was taken and the deserters punished, the Mamertines, being deprived of their assistance, were no longer able to maintain their former acquits: and after having lost all that they possessed without the gate of Messina, they fought with Hiero king of Syracuse even for their bare city. As this king was at that time likewise an enemy to the Romans, but afterwards for many years their faithful friend and ally, and contributed considerably to the establishment of their affairs, I think it necessary to treat of him somewhat more largely. For he was singularly successful, eminent for his great virtues and good conduct; and at that time the power of Syracuse flourished and fell with him.

<sup>a</sup> Now Cadiz, near the streights of Gibraltar.



## CHAP.

XI.

THIS prince had neither riches nor honors left him by his ancestors; neither was he otherwise assisted by any such advantages, but owed his whole fortune purely to himself. He did not, like most others, rise to a high pitch of greatness from a mean station, by falsely accusing his betters, or by the murder and expulsion of his adversaries, but by an unparalleled moderation in the acquisition and exercise of power. For he wisely concluded, that no sovereignty could be firmly established, but what was exercised in such a manner, as the subjects should be more afraid of being deprived of it than the prince. Therefore during a reign of fifty four years, and that at a time when two most potent states clashed together and contended with their utmost efforts for the sovereignty of the universe, if you will except the first years of his reign, he had no war with any enemy abroad, nor any conspiracies at home, and lived more than ninety years, with his senses entire and his body vigorous, which was a certain indication of his moderation. He was not only greatly beloved by his own subjects, but also highly esteemed both by the Romans and Greeks.

## CHAP.

XII.

THOUGH he oftentimes desired to quit the government, yet his people in general opposed it; and his son Gelon, who after living upwards of fifty years died before Hiero, from a moderation very uncommon among men, chose rather to want his kingdom for ever than be deprived of his father, whom he honored with a strict duty and obedience to the last minute of his life. This Hiero was exposed by his father Hierocles, who derived his pedigree from Gelo an ancient tyrant of Syracuse, because, being so nobly descended he was ashamed to bring up a son who had been born of a maid servant. But while the infant was destitute of all human relief, bees fed him for many days by dropping honey into his mouth as he lay on the ground. Hierocles was moved by this prodigy, and the responses of the diviners, who affirmed that it presaged regal power to the boy; where-



wherefore he took back the child, acknowledged him for his own, and educated him with the greatest care in hopes of his future greatness. It is farther reported that as he was learning among his school-fellows, a wolf suddenly appeared in the crowd of boys and snatched his book out of his hand. And soon after when he was entering upon the performance of military exercise, an eagle perched upon his buckler and an owl upon his lance. The last was interpreted to be a symbol of wisdom, and the first, on account of it's being the king of birds, a symbol of valor and the most exalted station. But he himself soon gave more certain prognostics by the eminent comeliness and strength of his body, yet he was still more distinguished and illustrious on account of his great genius, temperance, affability, justice and moderation.

CHAP.  
XII.

HE often engaged in battle and often in single combat with those who challenged him, and always came off conqueror. Pyrrhus rewarded his distinguished valor with many military presents, and gave his cousin Nereis in marriage to his son Gelon. When Pyrrhus was driven out of Sicily, and, agreeable to the common distemper of the times, a quarrel arose again between the army and townsmen of Syracuse, the soldiers in the camp near Mergana chose Artemidorus and Hiero to be their generals. By the contrivance of Hiero, and assistance of his friends they let the soldiers privately into the town, and so became masters of it. There he discovered his vast abilities and superiority of genius for government. For he neither killed nor expelled any person of the contending factions; but by his clemency, moderation, and equity so calmed the commotions, that he was made prætor of Syracuse<sup>a</sup>, with no less goodwill of his enemies than of his friends.

CHAP.  
XIII.

THIS great man applied his whole thoughts to promoting the public as well as his own private interest: and observing that one fatal error had for a

CHAP.  
XIV.

<sup>a</sup> We shall give a particular description of Syracuse, when we come to treat of it's being taken by the Romans.



CHAP.

XIV.



long time prevailed in the polity of Sicily, that whenever the magistrates led out the army, there either arose some mutiny among the troops in the field, or some commotions and innovations at home, he began to look about for a person to whom he might safely trust the government of the city, if at any time he himself should be obliged to go out to war. Therefore he married the daughter of Leptines, who was a man that had great authority in the city, and bore the character of being extremely honest and faithful. Having thus secured safety at home, he contrived a remedy, which was rather necessary than in any respect laudable, to check the insolence of the mercenaries. For having marched an army against the Mamertines, who met him near Centuripe<sup>a</sup>, he artfully drew up his army at the river Cyamosus in such a manner, as to leave a space between the mercenaries and citizens, and then ordered the former to charge, as if he intended on another side to attack the enemy with the latter, while they were engaged in standing to their defence against the first aggressors. Thus the mercenaries, being surrounded by the superior number of the Mamertines, were all cut to pieces; and while the enemy was employed in putting them to the sword, he quietly and safely led back the Syracusan troops to the city.

CHAP.

XV.



WHEN he had in this manner purged the army of mal-contents and mutineers, he taught the soldiers military discipline, and hired new mercenary troops. Thus having conciliated the affections of many, and removed the most insolent, whilst the rest durst not to mutter against him, as he had a strong army and was always on the watch, he managed the government as he pleased. In the mean time the Mamertines, grown more daring on account of their victory, in contempt of the enemy, ravaged the territories of Syracuse without the least precaution. Hiero, who could now rely on the fidelity of the citizens at home, and

<sup>a</sup> It is now a small town called by the natives Centorbe. It was famous for being the native city of the great Celsus.



the bravery of his troops, immediately marched against them, and encamped before their very town, which was almost drained of soldiers by the parties that had been sent out of it all round the country. The Mamertines, getting intelligence of the danger their city was in, quickly flew with a body of light armed troops to its relief. Hiero moved his camp out of the Mamertines lands to Mylæ<sup>a</sup>, where he took fifteen hundred men; and having surprized some castles, he marched then to Amasela<sup>b</sup>, which stood in the mid-way, between Agyrium<sup>c</sup> and Centuripe. This place likewise, though defended by fortifications and a strong garison, he took and razed. But he gave the garison quarter and obliged them to serve in his own army, and divided the lands of Amasela between the Centyripians and Agyrians.

FLUSHED with this success he made a second irruption into the territories of the Mamertines, where the city of Alæsa<sup>a</sup> surrendered, and the inhabitants of Abacænum<sup>b</sup> and Tyndarida<sup>c</sup> voluntarily joined him. Thus the towns next to Messina on both seas having submitted to Hiero (for the Tyndaritans dwelt on the coast of the Tyrrhenian and the Tauromenii, who were at that time in alliance with the Syracusans, on the Sicilian sea) the Mamertines, cooped up in a narrow corner, marched under the conduct of their prætor Cios, against the enemy who were encamped in the plains of Mylæ near the river Longanus, after they had engaged and fought with doubtful success, a fresh squadron suddenly charging the Mamertines in flank, gave Hiero a complete victory. For before the battle he had detached two hundred Messinian exiles, brave fellows and mortal enemies to the Mamertines, to whom he added four hundred chosen men of his own, with orders “to go round the neighboring hill

<sup>a</sup> Now Milazzo, upon the north coast of Sicily.

<sup>b</sup> Quite unknown.

<sup>c</sup> The present Agirone.

<sup>a</sup> Fazellus conjectures it stood near the present Caronia on the Fiume de

Caſonia.

<sup>b</sup> It stood in the north part of Sicily near the present Trypio.

<sup>c</sup> No traces of it remain, except the name preserved in the place now called Sancta Maria di Tyndaro.



“ called Thorax, and by a sudden charge to break  
 “ the ranks of the enemy while they were not guard-  
 “ ed on that side.” This detachment executed their  
 orders so vigorously, that the whole Mamertine army  
 was cut to pieces.

CHAP.

XVII.

IN this desperate condition Cios, who desired nothing else than to die in the bed of honor, fell into the hands of the enemy all covered with wounds, and being carried to their camp, confirmed the prediction of the entrails and haruspices, by a different fate than he expected. For as he was sacrificing before the battle, the soothsayers having inspected the entrails promised “ that he should lodge that night  
 “ in the enemy’s camp.” He interpreted it as an assurance of victory, and was too late sensible of his being deceived by the equivocal meaning of the prediction. As he was quite dispirited with this disaster, next day seeing the horse on which his son had rode in the battle among those that were taken, he concluded that he was killed, upon which he tore the compresses and plaisters off his wounds, and expired in a passion. The Mamertines hearing of this defeat, were in the utmost despair, but an unexpected accident saved them when they were ready to go with the badges of submission and submit to the mercy of the conqueror.

CHAP.

XVIII.

IT happened that Hannibal, the Carthaginian prætor, was at that time acting in the island of Lipari<sup>a</sup>, which lies near Sicily. He, hearing of Hiero’s victory, and afraid that in case the Mamertines should be wholly exterminated, the power of Syracuse would become grievous and intolerable to the Carthaginians, came immediately to Hiero under pretext of congratulating him. By this he detained him from marching directly to Messina, and having gone to that city before him, not only by speeches encouraged the Mamertines, who before were disposed to surrender, to maintain their liberty, but also put a garison of

<sup>a</sup> See vol. ii. book v. chap. xxviii. p. 100. note a. It lies in the Tyrrhenian sea north of Sicily.



his own troops into it. Hiero being sensible that he was over-reached by this crafty Carthaginian, and not being sufficiently prepared to undertake so difficult a siege, as it was like to prove, returned to Syracuse, where he was received with universal acclamations, and proclaimed king by all the troops. This title he kept ever after by consent of his own subjects and foreigners. When Hiero was gone, the Mamertines, having recovered their spirits a little, begun to deliberate on the present state of their affairs, which rent them into two separate factions. One party was of opinion, “ that they ought certainly to put themselves under the protection of the Carthaginians, which was not only convenient for several reasons, but also, seemed next to necessary, since they had admitted a Punic garison.”

THE other party replied, “ that the Carthaginians were as much enemies to the Mamertines as Hiero; and without doubt had taken the resolution of sending Messina not out of good-will but a desire of subjecting it to their empire. For they had for many ages aspired to the sovereignty of Sicily, from which impious pursuit neither the loss of their armies and fleets, nay nor a dread of losing their own state, and the terrible wars by which they were harassed in Africa, had been able to deter them. If therefore they should put themselves under their protection, who had so strong a fleet and were in possession of the greatest part of Sicily, they would be made slaves without exception. Therefore it would be absolute ruin to call in to their assistance the Carthaginians, who were a tyrannical treacherous people, and would impose on them a heavier yoke, than that which they feared from the Syracusans. If the Carthaginian garison had come solely with an intention to prevent the Mamertine state from falling into the hands of Hiero, it might be dismissed with a good grace, now when the business was done. But if they had any secret design, they ought with the greater zeal to endeavor to prevent the trea-



“cherous intentions of these perfidious allies. There-  
 “fore they ought rather to solicit the aid of the  
 “Romans, who were invincible in war, religious  
 “observers of their faith, and would have neither  
 “power nor pretext for keeping Messina subject to  
 “them, as they had not one foot of ground in Sicily,  
 “and neither had any skill in or much minded mari-  
 “time affairs.

CHAP.

XX.



“THE Romans would be content, if by op-  
 “posing Messina as a barrier and curb to the ambi-  
 “tion of the Carthaginians and Hiero, they could  
 “preserve Italy safe from them. Therefore they  
 “had best persevere in their resolution to try the  
 “friendship of that people, preferably to that of any  
 “other nation; because it would be a very dishonor-  
 “able and ill-timed action to alter their former pur-  
 “pose, after they had sent ambassadors to them and  
 “obtained a promise of assistance.” For previous to  
 the last battle with Hiero, the Mamertines, begin-  
 ning to be diffident of their own strength, had solicit-  
 ed aid from the Romans as being their kinsmen;  
 and the commons, at the instigation of the consul,  
 who eagerly desired to command in that war, had  
 voted the sending aid to the Mamertines. But the  
 senate through shame demured and had not confirm-  
 ed the ordinance of the people. Because as they had  
 of late severely punished their own countrymen for  
 their villainy in taking Rhegium, they saw that by  
 aiding the Mamertines, who had in the like treacher-  
 ous manner got possession of Messina, they would  
 lose the reputation of being just and faithful, which  
 they had acquired by their late conduct. But as soon  
 as they heard of the defeat of the Mamertines, and  
 it could no longer be doubted, but that people, if  
 abandoned by the Romans, would have recourse to  
 the power of the Carthaginians, the opinion of those  
 who declared for assisting them prevailed. Besides  
 many members of the senate began to be of the same  
 mind, perceiving, that if they were not assisted,  
 Messina immediately, and soon after the rest of Sicily  
 would



would fall into the hands of the Carthaginians; in which event, the Roman people would be obliged to dispute the possession of Italy with them.


THE ambition of sovereignty, which is by nature implanted in powerful nations, and also the situation of the places rendered this danger inevitable. For Italy, which extends itself a vast way from the country of Liguria and Venice between two seas, is only divided from Sicily by a narrow firth, between Rhegium and Messina. And without question, these countries were at first joined and afterwards separated by the sea, either because the intermediate space lying low was easily overflowed, or because the isthmus was cut through by the shock of an earthquake or the strength of the tides. From this accident it is imagined Rhegium got it's name; for by some such word the Grecians call any thing that is broke off. Hence it is probable, that the first inhabitants of Sicily came from Italy, and the very name confirms this conjecture. For the tradition is that the Opici built the city of Messina opposite to the coast of Italy, which being situated in a bay in figure resembling a sickle, I imagine was thence called Sicily, which the Grecians, who arrived there afterwards, called Zancle, both words signifying a sickle in the different languages of these two people. Hence, as usually happens, the whole island got this name; for some call it Zancle, and most Sicily.


CHAP.  
XXI.


BUT this island far excels all those in the Mediterranean, both in extent and fruitfulness. It produces an incredible quantity of most excellent oils, wine and corn, abounds with inhabitants and has a surprizing number of large cities. And in regard to safe harbors and the convenience of it's whole situation, scarce any other place could be equally fit for such as desired to establish a great empire. For being joined on one side to Italy, on the opposite it has Africa, and on another Sardinia, and on the east is divided from Peloponnesus and Greece by the Ionian

CHAP.  
XXII.



CHAP. XXII.  Ionian sea. On every side the passage is short to each of these places, and ships may easily go out or come in to any part of it. And without controversy, the desire of being masters of this island, which the Romans and Carthaginians entertained at the same time, gave rise to the war between them, though each made use of other pretexts; for the Romans complained “of the Carthaginians having aided the Tarentines contrary to treaty,” and the Carthaginians “of the league the Romans made with Hiero, as made against them.”

CHAP. XXIII.  BUT these two states had arrived to such a pitch of greatness, that it was not possible for them to avoid clashing on some account or other. For as trees which are planted at a little distance asunder, do not for a long time incommode one another, yet when they are grown up intercept one another's nourishment and sap; and when at full growth, destroy each other's roots and branches which are then mixed: so it is natural for rising empires no longer to maintain firm friendship and correspondence, than till the intermediate space that separated them is worn out; and when their frontiers meet they jostle and push one another; neither being willing to grant such terms as could fix them within their former bounds, nor at freedom to enlarge them till all obstacles are removed. To these causes we may add the great share the commons had in the government of each of these states, and their eager desire to undertake war. For the people had vast power in the Carthaginian republic; and because when the strength of their state increased they used to take various methods of enriching themselves, the sweets of gain made one war on the back of another very agreeable to them.

CHAP. XXIV.  NOR did the case of the commons at Rome differ much from that of the Carthaginians; for in hopes of easily repairing the losses they had sustained in their estates during the former war, by the wealth of Sicily, they put in practice the privilege of confirming





firming the acts of the senate which they had CHAP.  
wrested out of the hands of the fathers, and by XXIV.  
an ordinance of their own ratified the votes of

those who advised entering into the war. The consul Appius protected by this ordinance, and the majority of the senate, who having got over their former scruples, had now given their assent to it, immediately sent C. Claudius a legionary tribune before with a few ships, ordering him “to watch an opportunity, and if any offered, to pass over into Sicily.” Finding when he came to Rhegium, that he durst not risk his galleys, because the sea was guarded by a more powerful Carthaginian fleet, he went on board a fisher-boat and was landed at Messina. Whence after having held such conferences with the Mamertines as the present state of affairs required, but to little purpose by reason of the opposition of the Carthaginians, he returned without success. But soon after, as he knew that Messina was rent into factions, and though many were against calling in the Romans, yet a greater part of the inhabitants looked with a jealous eye upon the Carthaginian garison, he repassed the sea, and among other things he advanced relating to the present state of affairs, chiefly insisted on this point, “that he was come with no other intent than to set their city at liberty; and as soon as he had done it would instantly return back again”

WHEN the Carthaginians replied to this “that CHAP.  
the Romans need not give themselves the trouble XXV.  
to set a city free, which was so; for the Cartha-  
ginians had in a friendly manner taken care to prevent the Mamertines being enslaved by the Syracusans; and therefore the Roman would do well to depart, or declare what other just cause he had to be at Messina.” Claudius insisted, “that a city could not be free, where foreigners kept a garison contrary to the inclination of the townsmen.” When nobody gave any answer, the Carthaginians through pride, and the Mamertines through fear,



CHAP. XXV.  fear, keeping silence, a crafty and ready-witted man rose up and said, “ This silence is an incontestable  
 “ evidence, that the cause of the Carthaginians is not  
 “ just, and the Mamertines greatly long to enjoy  
 “ their liberty. For was it not so, the former would  
 “ not be backward to speak in defence of their right,  
 “ and the latter, without any dissimulation, did  
 “ they agree with the Carthaginians, would openly  
 “ and avowedly approve of their designs.” At this speech the Mamertines begun to hum, and the majority applauded it as agreeable to their inward sentiments. Thus the Roman thinking he had for the present proceeded far enough in having dived into their real disposition, returned to Rhegium.

CHAP. XXVI.  HAVING fitted out the galleys he had with him he shortly after attempted to pass over. But being much inferior to the Carthaginian admirals both in number of ships, and skill in navigation; and being moreover driven by the waves, which rose to more than an usual height by reason of a sudden storm, he lost some galleys, and returned with the rest, which he found great difficulty to bring safe into the same haven from whence he set out. Nor did this disaster deter him from trying his fortune a second time when he found a better opportunity, and had refitted his ships. But in the mean time messengers came from Hanno, who commanded the garison at Messina, and had the guarding of these streights, bringing with them some of the galleys and men, that had been taken by the Carthaginians in the former engagment. This Carthaginian desiring to throw the infamy of violating the treaty upon the Romans, took this step on purpose, and complaining, “ that they had attempt-  
 “ ed by force to pass over a sea which was under the  
 “ jurisdiction of the Carthaginians,” pressed them to a stricter observation of their treaties and peace for the future. But hearing Claudius would hearken to no terms, unless he drew his garison out of Messina, and was projecting a second voyage over the streights, he cried out, “ that he would not suffer the  
 “ Roman



“ Romans so much as to wash their hands in that  
“ sea.” Yet he was not able to hinder Claudius, who,  
having observed the current of the waters, and taken  
the opportunity of a favorable wind and tide, got  
to Sicily before he could meet him.

HAVING convened an assembly of the Mamertines whom he found at the haven, he persuaded them, “ to send for Hanno, under pretext of consulting with him about the present posture of affairs.” For that Carthaginian, not daring to trust the mutinous spirits of the townsmen, had with his garison possessed himself of their citadel. Yet being afraid, lest his seeming to mistrust them, should provoke them to complain of him, and in his absence immediately to side with the Romans, he came to the conference. It was drawn out to a great length in debates and mutual reproaches, till at last the Romans laid hands on Hanno, and imprisoned him, while the Mamertines approved the action. Being thus circumvented, partly by treachery and partly by terror, and seeing he could obtain no other terms, he was obliged to draw off his garison and restore the citadel to the Mamertines.

CHAP.  
XXVII.

THE Carthaginians were exasperated beyond measure, when they heard of this affair. And whereas they used to punish their generals for their ill conduct, even when it succeeded, so now accusing both the folly and cowardice of Hanno, they crucified the wretch; and immediately ordered land and sea forces to set out for Messina, and sent another Hanno, son of Hannibal, to command in Sicily. Having landed his troops at Lilybæum<sup>a</sup>, he marched to Selinuns, where he encamped and left his infantry. He went himself to Agrigentum<sup>b</sup>,

CHAP.  
XXVIII.

<sup>a</sup> It lay on the west of Sicily, and near Marsala.

<sup>b</sup> Now Gergenti, Girgenti, or Giorgenti, five leagues from the sea, between the present *Fiume di Naro* and *Fiume di Drago*.

where



where he fortified the citadel, and obliged that people, who were allies of the Carthaginians, to enter into a confederacy and fight against the Romans. Upon his return from thence to his camp he found ambassadors from Hiero, who was displeased at the coming of the Romans into Sicily, and thought this the fittest opportunity, by joining the Carthaginian forces, to drive both the Romans and the barbarous inhabitants of Messina out of the island.

## CHAP.

XXIX.



HEREUPON he had a conference with the Carthaginian general, and as they had both formerly failed in their attempts to get possession of Messina, they easily entered into a league against the Romans, whose coming into the island was equally prejudicial to both. In this treaty they agreed that Messina should be besieged by their joint forces, and that they should suffer none to have any possession in Sicily, excepting the Syracusans and Carthaginians. Thus the Carthaginian general having sent an herald before to demand, “ that, if the Romans desired to live in  
“ friendship with the Carthaginians they should evacuate Messina, and depart out of Sicily against a  
“ fixed day,” marched his whole troops against the Mamertines. The fleet was ordered to lay at cape Pelorus<sup>a</sup>, and the land army entrenched themselves at the Beds, which the Greeks call Eunes, not far from Messina. According to treaty Hiero came with the Syracusan troops, and encamped on another side of the city, near mount Chalcis. Thus was that city invested on all sides, and could safely receive no provisions or assistance either by land or sea.

## CHAP.

XXX.



AT the same time, when the herald returned from Messina without any terms of peace, the Carthaginians, excited partly by rage and partly by distrust, cruelly massacred all the mercenaries of Italian extraction, that were in their army. As soon as these things were known at Rome, the consuls

<sup>a</sup> This cape, now called by the natives *Capo di Faro* or *della Torre di Faro*, faces Italy. For the original of it's ancient name see Val. Max. 9. c. 8. and Mela, b. 2. c. 7.



Appius set out immediately with a strong army and arrived at Rhegium. Thence he dispatched before some deputies to treat with the Carthaginians and Hiero about raising the siege, and knowing that the former narrowly guarded the strait, he carefully and diligently looked about for means to pass over with the least danger. The Roman deputies did not receive a favorable answer from the Carthaginians, and Hiero inveighed against them in a very smart speech. For after recounting his own good offices to the Roman people, he said, “ I am at a loss, “ Romans, whether to bewail my own fate or yours. “ For I have indeed lost allies which have proved “ worse than I expected, and you have forfeited “ that reputation for justice and probity, for which “ you were so famous all over the world. You “ never had any friendship or alliance with the Ma- “ mertines, but you long ago entered into a league “ with the Carthaginians, and lately with me.

“ C A N you, who desire to break these treaties “ for the sake of a people whom you have no con- “ cern in, tell for what injury of ours or merit of “ the Mamertines you do so? But because the Car- “ thaginians are not at a loss to plead for them- “ selves, I shall wave their cause, and at present “ confine myself to what concerns me in particular. “ These good countrymen of yours, the Mamer- “ tines, were mercenaries to the Syracusans, as you “ well know, being dismissed to return into Italy, “ committed the most horrid villany that ever was “ known in the memory of man, at Messina, where “ they were received as friends and allies by the “ unfortunate and credulous inhabitants. For in the “ dead of night they massacred their hosts, and “ kept possession of their effects, wives, children, and “ the town itself. And if you, as well as the rest “ of mankind, had not looked upon this as a most “ shocking and intolerable wickedness, you would “ not surely have revenged the like crime so severe- “ ly in those, who after the example of the Mamer- “ tines,



CHAP. XXXI.   
 “ tines, were so daring as to do the same by the Rhe-  
 “ gians. The same abhorrence of the crime, which  
 “ made you think yourselves obliged to punish those  
 “ wicked wretches, will not suffer me to let the  
 “ Mamertines pass with impunity. More especially  
 “ when I consider, that since that time, by pillaging  
 “ all Sicily, they have almost quite obliterated the  
 “ memory of their first crime by new acts of villany.

CHAP. XXXII.   
 “ FOR, to pass by other things, I think their  
 “ razing the cities of Camarina <sup>a</sup> and Gela <sup>b</sup>, which  
 “ were under the protection of the Syracusans, causes  
 “ of sufficient weight to induce me to prosecute these  
 “ wicked, bold and troublesome people in a just and  
 “ pious war. But if you pretend to protect them,  
 “ because being of the same Italian extraction, they  
 “ seem to be allied to you by blood ; how much  
 “ more equitable would it have been to have spared  
 “ the Rhegians, who were your fellow-citizens?  
 “ And since I assisted you with men and provisions  
 “ in recovering that city, ought I to have suspected  
 “ that afterwards you would have obstructed me  
 “ when I am besieging Messina, upon equally good  
 “ grounds? But, Romans, why do I use so many  
 “ words? If you in truth have any sparks of regard  
 “ for your faith and reputation, any sense of honesty,  
 “ and in fine, any sense of shame remaining, I ought  
 “ not to doubt but you will assist me with your  
 “ whole force rather than obstruct me, while I bear  
 “ arms in so just a cause. If you have come the  
 “ length as to look on these matters as of little mo-  
 “ ment, yet consider the event of war is in reality  
 “ uncertain ; and this one thing you may be assured  
 “ of, that all mankind will plainly see, that not un-  
 “ der any color of right or equity, not for any in-

<sup>a</sup> According to Pliny and most called by the natives *Torre de Cam-  
 other authors it stood on the south rana.*  
 coast of Sicily, between the rivers <sup>b</sup> It is supposed to have stood  
 Camarana and Frascolani, which old the south side of Sicily, on the co-  
 geographers call Oanus. But Ptole- facing Africa, and where Ter-  
 my places it ten miles from the sea. Nuova now stands, on the river  
 It's ruins are still to be seen, and it's ciently called Gela, now Fiume  
 name has been transferred to a tower Terra Nuova.



“juries received, what you yourselves dare not pretend, not from any compassion to the Mamertines, but solely from ambition, and a wicked desire of joining this famous island to your domain, are you, Romans, induced to enter into this war.”

WHEN this answer was brought back, Appius, having for some time clearly seen, that he could not without manifest danger pass the strait, while it was guarded by a strong fleet, had recourse to a sly and cunning stratagem. He said, he did not think proper “to alienate Hiero from the Romans; that war was not yet declared against him, nor could it be done without an ordinance of the people.” Wherefore he ordered his crews<sup>a</sup> to be ready against a certain day, and to have their vessels prepared to sail, as if he had been to return home. For he knew many soldiers out of the Carthaginian and Syracusan camp were, under pretext of traffic, in the port of Rhegium, and that by their means this report would speedily reach the ears of those, who he chiefly desired should believe it. According as he had thought before-hand, so it happened. For the whole fleet having put to sea on a clear day, and begun to steer their course along the coast of Italy, the Carthaginians, who were stationed to guard the strait, imagined, as soon as the spies informed them of the consul’s resolution, that there was no farther danger of the enemy’s passing, and so leaving the passage unguarded, went each where their inclinations led them.

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THE consul, who conjectured that it would happen so, tacked about in the night, and in the dark got to Sicily with all his fleet without being seen or obstructed in his passage by any one. This was a bold and dangerous enterprise, to sail in the night time over a sea, which was naturally dreadful even in the day and without an enemy, with an army that had no skill in maritime affairs, and in awkward and ill-built vessels;

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<sup>a</sup> They were composed partly of the last it is supposed they got the slaves that had been free, and partly name of *Locii Navales*, which so of men furnished by the allies. From ten occurs,



CHAP. and the attempt was thought worthy to be transmit-  
 XXXIV. ed to posterity by the monument of a new surname.  
 For as the consul had used many boats built of rough planks irregular disposed <sup>a</sup> in transporting his troops, in admiration of his resolution, according to the simplicity of these times, he was surnamed Caudex. Hitherto the Romans had so little minded maritime affairs, that for an enterprize of so great importance, they had not a decked vessel, bark, or so much as a pinnace, but used boats with three benches of oars, which had been lent them by the Tarentines, Locrians, Eleates and Neapolitans, and small barges of fifty oars.

CHAP. BUT Appius, having by accident landed not far  
 XXXV. from the place where the Syracusans were encamped, encouraged his men, and shewing them “ that they  
 “ must certainly get the victory, if they surprised the  
 “ enemy while they were off their guard,” went immediately to attack their camp. Hiero, awakened by the sudden noise, opposed him with his troops formed as well as the time would allow. The battle was for some time very obstinate; the Roman cavalry were beat, but the foot, having fought most valiantly, defeated Hiero, who retreated in consternation with his men to his lines. The consul, having commanded the dead to be stript, entered Messina, and by his presence relieved the Mamertines from their terrible fears, and filled them with fresh hopes. Hiero, as he after confessed, seeing himself conquered before he had seen the enemy, and suspecting the Carthaginians had betrayed the passage over the streights, was at a strange nonplus, and began to be afraid of his own kingdom. Wherefore at the dead of next night he decamped, and went strait to Syracuse.

CHAP. WHEN he was gone, Appius, desirous of at-  
 XXXVI. tacking the Carthaginians while they were in consternation at his late victory, ordered his troops to refresh themselves early next morning, and march

<sup>a</sup> In Latin caudex,



out at day break with an intention to storm their lines. They were encamped in a very advantageous post, which was strongly fortified both by nature and art. For as they had the sea on one side, and deep morasses on the other, they lay in a kind of peninsula. This narrow pass, by which only their camp was accessible, they had fortified with a rampart to prevent the enemy's breaking into them. So that the Romans having stormed it, without being able to conquer the disadvantages of the ground, or the numbers of the enemy, who fought chiefly with such missile weapons as are used in sieges, were obliged to leave the attempt without having succeeded. But in war misfortunes often are the forerunners of better success; because the unfortunate endeavor, by better conduct and courage, to repair their loss, while the enemy, bewitched with the smiles of fortune, become rash, and do not guard sufficiently against accidents.

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SUCH was the fate of the Carthaginians at this time. For not content with having repulsed the enemy, from a fond imagination that the brave Roman troops had given way to their valor and not to the strength of the place, and taking their retreat for a flight, they sallied out of their camp and pursued them. As soon as they got out of the narrow passes which defended them, the fortune of the battle changed with the ground, and a great number of them were cut to pieces. The remainder fled some to their camp, and some, as they could best shift for themselves, into the adjacent towns; nor durst they ever after leave their camp as long as the consul staid at Messina. Claudius likewise, not thinking it advisable a second time to attack a post which was by nature and situation so difficult to come at, and seeing that he wasted time in vain, left a garison at Messina, and made an incursion upon the dominions of Syracuse and it's allies. Having laid them waste without any opposition, he became so confident and bold, that he even approached Syracuse itself with

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CHAP. his army. There he fought with various fortune,  
 XXXVII. and at one time was in great danger. For he had  
 certainly been surrounded, if he had not in time  
 formed a resolution of sending to Hiero, as if he in-  
 clined to treat about terms of peace. Hiero sent one  
 of his favorites, with whom the consul begun a con-  
 ference, and industriously protracted it, till by de-  
 grees he extricated himself out of his dangerous si-  
 tuation, and got to a place of security.

CHAP. THE Syracusans followed and held conferences  
 XXXVIII. about a peace with the Romans, and it had certainly  
 been concluded, if Hiero would have approved of the  
 terms. The best part of the year was spent in these  
 transactions. After that the consul returned to Mes-  
 sina, and from thence, having left some cohorts for  
 the defence of the Mamertines, he passed over with  
 the rest to Rhegium. He immediately set out for  
 Rome to receive the honors due to so glorious a cam-  
 paign, and as he was the first who triumphed over  
 a transmarine people, his triumph over Hiero and  
 the Carthaginians was celebrated with great rejoic-  
 ing of all ranks. This was the first time the Ro-  
 mans had attempted to cross the sea, and such was  
 the success of their expedition into Sicily. But  
 through the prejudice of historians, both these and  
 the transactions of the succeeding periods have been  
 greatly misrepresented. For the two principal au-  
 thors, Philinus the Agrigentine, and Fabius Pictor  
 the Roman, have shewn no regard to truth or vera-  
 city, the former from a desire to enhance the glory  
 of the Carthaginians, and the latter that of his coun-  
 trymen.

CHAP. POLYBIUS justly accuses them of partiality. For  
 XXXIX. if it is looked on as an execrable crime by false testi-  
 mony to circumvent any private person in matters of  
 the least importance, how much more abominably per-  
 fidious must we esteem it in the author of a history  
 to misrepresent the acts of princes and states? And as  
 he ought in conscience to prefer no human benefit,



may not life itself to telling truth, so he can less expect a pardon, because he cannot possibly alledge any reasonable pretext he had to falsify it; for if on any account whatever he should not be at liberty to tell all the truth he knew, yet certainly he might be silent. But to proceed; while Claudius was reaping laurels in Sicily against Hiero and the Carthaginians, the other consul, M. Fulvius, brought the siege of Volsinium to a happy issue, and by famine and want of necessary provisions subdued a people, which, on account of their being driven to despair, were unconquerable by force. Upon the surrender of the place, the ungrateful and insolent slaves that had been set free were tortured to death, the town razed, and the rest of the Volsinienſes, with such slaves as had been faithful and obedient to their masters, were sent to habitations allotted for them elsewhere. This war was likewise reckoned deserving of a triumph, and the consul obtained that honor, under title of conqueror of the Volsinienſes, on the kalends of November.

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DURING the administration of the same consuls, a lustrum was completed by the censors, Cn. Cornelius and C. Marcius. The number of citizens registered amounted to two hundred ninety two thousand two hundred and twenty four; a great and almost incredible number, if we consider the continual losses, which this people sustained in wars, from which they were scarce ever free from the very foundation of their city, and the many plagues and other most violent distempers which swept off as many of them as the wars did. But by naturalizing one people after another, which was a wise maxim, the successors of Romulus, who was the first author of it, had constantly observed, the republic was rendered invincible and proof against all calamities of the kind. For neither could the blows which Pyrrhus gave it, the many shipwrecks they suffered in the first Punic war, nor the terrible defeats at Thrasimene and Cannæ in the second, prevent it's recovering again

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XL.



out of all these disasters with greater lustre and strength.

CHAP.

XLII.



WHEREAS in Greece the Lacedæmonians, who were very famous for their warlike exploits, and not inferior to the Romans in valor, could neither long maintain the empire they had acquired, nor always defend their own liberty, because they never admitted strangers to settle amongst them. But the whole power of their state was utterly destroyed, by the death of no more than one thousand Spartans in the battle of Leuctra. And they quite lost their liberty by the loss of six thousand in a second battle at Selasia. But the Achæans, who inhabited the same Peloponnesus, by admitting all their neighbors to the privileges of their state, erected a glorious republic, which would certainly have subsisted a long time, had not the madness of a few among them provoked the powerful Romans, whose domain was then very far extended, to destroy them and their country. But so different fortunes must necessarily have been the consequence of so dissonant policy. For as it is agreeable to nature, that a body, which is subsisted by a moderate and wholesom diet, should prove stronger and more durable, than, if content with it's native juices, it had refused all external nourishment; so those states that know how to make every valuable thing their own, have ever flourished more than those, which, from a foolish pride, despise every thing that is not the produce of their own soil, and thereby deprive themselves of many excellent means of acquiring and maintaining power.

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THIS year likewise gave birth to a cruel custom, which was soon after practised to a pitch of extravagance; for the shedding of human blood for the entertainment of every whiffling spectator, became a public pastime. The authors of this barbarous custom were M. and D. Junii Bruti, who, from I know not what sort of filial regard in order to do honor to the ashes of their dead father, exhibited a combat of gladiators, which extremely pleased the whole state. But this injury done to human nature



was avenged by a pestilence, which raged furiously during this and the following year. For when they consulted the Sybilline books, it was found that this judgment proceeded from the resentment of the gods. Therefore, as this raised a suspicion, that the sacred ceremonies of their religion were not devoutly performed, the pontiffs, by a more diligent search and enquiry found, that many chapels and temples had been turned into private tenements, and that a vestal virgin named Caparonia was guilty of incontinence. But while her prosecution was carrying on, the criminal eluded the ordinary punishment by hanging herself. He who debauched her, and the slaves who were privy to the fact, were punished according to law. The sacred places were taken from the private persons who had rashly taken possession of them, and restored to the uses for which they were originally appropriated.

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WHEN this reformation of the religion of the state was finished, the fathers applied themselves again to the affairs of the public; and because Hetruria was now subdued, and no commotions in any other part of Italy, they resolved to send both the new consuls over to Sicily with the legions. They were M. Valerius Maximus, son and grandson to two of that name, who was during his bearing this honorable office surnamed Messala, and M. Otacilius Crassus, son of Caius and grandson of Marcus. They having safely transported their troops, prosecuted the war with the same success. For having taken, after a short siege, the city of Adrano<sup>a</sup>, and invested Centuripe<sup>b</sup>, ambassadors came from the Alæfina<sup>c</sup>, to surrender their city to them. After that having traversed the different parts of the island, sometimes separately and sometimes in conjunction, as occasion and particular reasons required, they routed the Sy-

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M. Val.  
Maximus,  
and M. Ota.  
Crassus,  
consuls.  
Y. of R. 489.  
B. J. C. 265.

<sup>a</sup> Now Aderno, at the foot of mount Ætna, on a river called Fiume d'Aderno.

<sup>b</sup> See before chap. xiv. p. 276. note a. of this book.

<sup>c</sup> See before chap. xvi. note a. p. 277. of this book.



CHAP. XLIII. racufans and Carthaginians, wherever they ventured to give them battle, and spread the terror and reputation of their arms far and wide. While they thus pursued their good fortune, so great was their success and the force of their arms, that soon after no less than sixty-seven towns are reckoned to have put themselves under the protection of the Romans. In this number were Tauromenium <sup>a</sup> and Catina <sup>b</sup>.

CHAP. XLIV. THUS the consuls, daily reinforcing their armies with as many auxiliaries as they pleased to demand, were encouraged to encamp before Syracuse itself, with an intention to invest it. Hiero, finding matters come to this pass, began to be diffident of his own and the Carthaginian strength, and being convinced that the protection of the Romans was more to be relied on, determined to make a league with them, and sent plenipotentiaries to the consuls with instructions to conclude a peace. The Romans were not displeased with the prospect of bringing Hiero off from his alliance with the Carthaginians, especially as they could hereby more easily get provisions for their troops. For as the Carthaginians were masters at sea, they could not be transported from Italy, and the year before the consul had been almost as much embarrassed by this inconvenience as by the enemy. But when Hiero should be their ally, the kingdom of Syracuse, which produced plenty of corn, would abundantly furnish the Romans with provisions.

CHAP. XLVI. WHEREFORE a treaty was concluded on these conditions, “ that Hiero should restore such places  
“ as he had taken from the Romans or their allies,  
“ and the prisoners without ransom, and pay two  
“ hundred talents of silver. He should continue in  
“ safe possession of the kingdom of Syracuse and  
“ the other towns which were subject to it.” The chief of these were Acræ <sup>a</sup>, Leontini <sup>b</sup>, Megara <sup>c</sup>,

<sup>a</sup> See book xiv. p. 218. note a.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. p. 219. note b.

<sup>c</sup> Stood where now stands Sancta Maria d' Aricia, between Noto and Avula.

<sup>b</sup> See above book xiv. p. 219. n. b.

<sup>c</sup> It was anciently called Hybla, and lay between Catina and Syracuse. Marcellus demolished it when he besieged Syracuse.



Elorum<sup>d</sup>, Netum<sup>e</sup> and Tauromenium<sup>f</sup>. When Hiero's ambassadors came to Rome these conditions were ratified, and the senate passed a vote for religiously keeping the peace with that prince, and a few days after this act was confirmed by an ordinance of the people at the motion of Cn. Atilius Calatinus. This treaty, which was made only for fifteen years, continued to subsist ever after. For Hiero shewed so great a respect to promoting the grandeur of the Romans, and they in return requited his zeal with so much bounty and liberality, that neither had cause to repent of the alliance which they had contracted. When the news of this peace with the Syracusans was spread abroad, Hannibal the Carthaginian general, who had come with his fleet as far as Xiphonia<sup>g</sup> to relieve Hiero from the siege, retreated with greater expedition than that wherewith he had advanced.

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XLV.

AS the Romans now had Hiero for an ally and associate in the war, they speedily subdued many towns, which were subject to the Carthaginians. And though they were obliged to quit Adrano<sup>a</sup>, which was a fortified town, and Macella<sup>b</sup>, after a siege that had lasted many days, yet they recovered Segesta<sup>c</sup>, whose inhabitants having put the Punic garison to the sword, of their own accord revolted to them. As they derived their descent from Æneas, who had escaped from the sack of Troy, they alledged this relation as a reason, among others, of their favoring their brethren the Romans. And not long after the Alienæans<sup>d</sup> joined the Romans; but they were oblig-

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<sup>d</sup> Stood on a river of the same name, supposed to be the present Abiso, in the place where now stands the town of *Bajacheno*.

<sup>e</sup> Ptolemy calls it Neætum. Fa-zellus places it near the present *de Noto*.

<sup>f</sup> See above book xiv. p. 218.

<sup>g</sup> It is reckoned to have been the same which modern geographers call *Augusta*, in a peninsula on the western coast of Sicily. The present promontory of *La Cruce* bore it's name. Arretius and Leander say it

was watered by the river San Marcellino, then Myla.

<sup>a</sup> See above chap. xliii. p. 286. note a.

<sup>b</sup> It is manifest it stood between Palermo and Segesta, a little to the south. When the Saracens conquered it, they gave it the name of Colta Busamar.

<sup>c</sup> It is called by Greek Authors Ægesta and Acesta. See above chap. viii. note a. p. 272.

<sup>d</sup> We can discover no traces of their city.



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ed to batter and storm Hilara<sup>e</sup>, Tyrittus<sup>e</sup>, and Ascetus<sup>e</sup>, for which reason they treated the inhabitants of these towns with greater severity. This terrified the Tyndaritans<sup>f</sup>, who were the next in danger, and saw no help near. But while they likewise were deliberating about surrendering their town to the Romans, they were prevented by the Carthaginians. For they, concluding from the posture of affairs what was in agitation, carried their principal citizens as hostages to Lilybæum, and likewise took away all their corn, wine, and other stores which they had laid up.

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XLVII.

AT this time the consul Otacilius Crassus gave a very useful example of severity in regard to military discipline, and very agreeable to the Roman genius. For he had ordered some soldiers, that had made a dishonorable capitulation for their lives with Hannibal, who had made them pass under the yoke, to encamp without the Roman lines; that being hereby exposed to the incursions of the enemy, and having no hopes of safety but in their bravery, they might regain their courage, and learn to defend themselves rather by arms than trenches. After these and other exploits of like importance, as the winter was now approaching, the consuls placed garisons in proper places, transported the rest of their army into Italy, and returned to Rome. There M. Valerius, who had been most successful, and done most signal service in that campaign, had a triumph voted to him. And on the sixteenth of March he triumphed over the Carthaginians and Hiero king of Sicily. A sun dial, which was carried among the spoils, was most taken notice of, because such a thing had never been seen at Rome before. When Valerius took Catina, he brought it from thence, and afterwards placed it on a pillar in the forum near the rostra. On one side of the Curia Hostilia, he likewise fixed

<sup>e</sup> These three cities are unknown; yet it is evident they stood on the western parts of Sicily. <sup>f</sup> See above chap. xvi. note c. p. 277.



up a table, upon which his victory over the Carthaginians and Hiero were painted, which none had ever done before, though many afterwards followed the example.

IT is certain that this same Valerius got the surname of Messala from the city of Messina. But I am surprized, that some eminent authors should believe he got this name from his taking that town, when his very exploits themselves manifestly prove, that it was given to him, because he delivered Messina, which after the departure of Appius Claudius was forepressed by the Carthaginians and Hiero, the former of which he drove away, and brought over the latter to his side. In the mean time, as the city was still distressed by the plague, it was thought fit to nominate a dictator to drive a nail. The person pitched upon was Cn. Fulvius Maximus Centumalus, son of Cneius, and grandson of Cneius. He appointed Q. Marcius Philippus, son of Quintus, and grandson of one of the same name, to be general of horse. The same year a colony was sent to Æsernia<sup>a</sup>, as there had been one settled the year before at Firmum<sup>b</sup>, and according to some authors at Castrum<sup>c</sup>. Then L. Posthumius Megellus, son of Lucius, and grandson of one of the same name, and Q. Mamilius Vitulus, son of Quintus, and grandson of Marcus, were chosen consuls. They both had the province of Sicily allotted to them with only two legions, which seemed to be force sufficient, since the war was become less burthensome by their alliance with Hiero, and since the fewer troops were sent, provisions they thought would be the more easily furnished.

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Cn. Fulvius Centumalus dictator, Q. Marcius Philippus general of horse.

L. Posthumius Megellus and Q. Mamilius Vitulus, consuls. Y. of R. 490. B. J. C. 262.

THE consuls having transported their legions into Sicily, and assembled the auxiliary troops, which

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<sup>a</sup> Commonly called *Sergna* and *Isernia*, lay in Samnium, about four miles from the Volturno, at the foot of the Apennines.

<sup>b</sup> It lay in the country of Picenum, on the coast of the Adriatick sea. It is commonly called *Fermo*.

<sup>c</sup> There were two towns of this name in Italy; one in Hetruria to the west of Tuscany, and the other in the country of the Salentines, twelve miles from Otranto to the east.



CHAP. XLIX. their allies were to furnish, laid aside every thing of less importance, and resolved with their whole force to besiege Agrigentum. The Carthaginians had very plentifully furnished it with all kinds of stores, judging beforehand that it would be the but of the war. For perceiving, that, after Hiero had abandoned them, the Romans applied themselves vigorously to the affairs of Sicily, they thought that they likewise ought to make more diligent preparations for the war, and therefore first detached the greatest part of the troops they had then on foot into Sardinia, to lie in wait on the coasts of Italy, and by the dread thereof either draw off the Romans from Sicily, or at least oblige them to carry on the war, with fewer troops than they intended. But as the Romans at this time were both strong enough to defend their own country, and also to send another fresh army into Sicily, they found themselves disappointed in this project. Wherefore having hired many Ligurians and Gauls, but still many more Spaniards, with great plenty of necessary provisions, they sent them to Agrigentum, intending it as a magazine and refuge for their troops, since, by the convenience of it's situation and extent, it was of all the towns which they possessed in Sicily the fittest for their purposes.

CHAP. L. THEREFORE as the whole scene of the war lay round this city, the Roman consuls, after having driven the Carthaginians within their fortifications, encamped within a mile of the place. The corn in the fields were then ripe for cutting down, and because the siege was like to prove long, the soldiers from an eagerness of reaping and gathering them in, incautiously straggled farther than they ought to have done, when the enemy was so near. The Carthaginians with skill and speed laid hold of the opportunity, and had made a great slaughter among them, had not the Roman troops by their valor repaired the loss they had sustained by their negligence. For as the foragers were not  
able



able to sustain the sudden charge of the enemy, the CHAP.  
 Carthaginians advanced even to the Roman camp, L.  
 and dividing their forces, one part endeavored to  
 level the rampart, while the other engaged the  
 guards posted before the lines. Then was the time  
 that the strict execution of military laws, and the rigid  
 severity of discipline, as it had often done before,  
 supported the Roman army, which was in hazard of  
 being destroyed. For as these guards knew that to  
 abandon their posts was capital with the Romans, and  
 had no hopes of saving themselves by flight, though  
 much inferior in number, they with inconceivable  
 bravery maintained the fight, with the loss of many  
 on their own side, and still more on that of the ene-  
 my, till the cohorts had time to arm and come to  
 their relief.

IN consequence of this that part of the enemy CHAP.  
 which had attacked the guards were defeated, and LI.  
 the other, which had almost made themselves ma-  
 sters of the rampart, surrounded. There was a  
 great slaughter on this occasion, and the Romans  
 pursued the remainder even to the walls of the town.  
 However, this accident both made the enemy more  
 afraid of making sallies, and the Romans more cau-  
 tious in foraging. And as from henceforth they  
 were not very ready to fight, and the Carthagini-  
 ans seldom made a sally, and when they did, only  
 to skirmish, the consuls thought fit to divide their  
 forces, and encamp in the front of two separate quar-  
 ters of the city. One camp was formed at the temple  
 of Æsculapius, and the other on the high way lead-  
 ing to Heraclea. They fortified both with lines of  
 contravallation and circumvallation. The first front-  
 ed the city to guard against sallies; the latter to de-  
 fend them against attacks from the country, and pre-  
 vent throwing succors into the town.

THE space between the two camps was secured CHAP.  
 by sentinels and guards posted near one another. In LI.  
 all these operations the Romans were greatly assisted  
 by the Sicilians, who had lately formed an alliance  
 with



## CHAP.

LII.



with them. Their troops, in conjunction with the Romans, made up an army of a hundred thousand men. These new allies likewise brought them provisions as far as Erbeffa<sup>a</sup>, from which town that was not very remote, the Romans themselves conveyed them to their camp. By this means they had all necessaries in great abundance. In this condition did the siege continue during almost five months, and while there was no considerable action on either side, as nothing passed but a few slight skirmishes, the Carthaginian affairs began to wear the worst aspect. For by reason of their great number, which amounted to no less than fifty thousand men, shut up in a single town for so long a time, they consumed all their provisions, and had no hopes, that any supplies could be brought them, so strictly did the Romans guard all the avenues. Thus the evils they already suffered, and those they expected were approaching, quite discouraged them.

## CHAP.

LIII.



IN consequence of this, after Hannibal, son of Gisgo, who commanded the Carthaginians in Agrigentum, had sent courier after courier to demand supplies of troops and provisions, the elder Hanno was sent to Sicily, with some forces and elephants which were assembled after Hannibal's message. They amounted to fifty thousand foot, six thousand horse and sixty elephants. With these he arrived at Lilybæum, and from thence marched to Heraclea. He was immediately joined by the inhabitants of Erbeffa, who promised to surrender their city to him. By their assistance having made himself master of that city from whence provisions used to be conveyed to the Roman camp, he seemed to have accomplished a matter of no small importance; since, as the Romans were hereby cut off from almost all means of getting provisions, they were as much straitned themselves as they straitned the Agrigentines. And they had more than once deliberated

<sup>a</sup> Now called *Le Grotte*, or *Grutti*. It stood on the river of Cannaro, in the district where Siculiano now stands.



about raising the siege, and were just on the point of quitting it as impracticable, when Hiero king of Syracuse, after attempting every kind of means, by stealth conveyed them some corn and other necessities, and thereby in some small degree relieved their wants.

HANNO, observing that the Romans were greatly distressed by famine, and diseases which use generally to be the effect of it; and, on the contrary, that his new troops were strong and entire, resolved to approach the Romans, and risk a battle if he had a fair opportunity. Marching therefore from Heraclea with his whole army and fifty elephants, he detached his Numidian horse before to ride round the Roman camp, to provoke their cavalry, and draw them into an ambuscade which was laid ready for them. The Numidians, according to their orders, contemptuously rode up to the Roman camp, whence the Romans made a sally, and immediately repulsed them, who made but a short stand. After they were broke, they fled that way they knew Hanno was advancing, and the Romans pursued close at their heels. The farther they suffered themselves to be hurried in the pursuit, the more difficult they rendered their retreat to their own lines. Many of them were killed by the fresh troops which they met, and by those who fled facing about and surrounding them.

AS this success gave Hanno greater hopes of gaining a complete victory, he seized a little hill called Torus, about five hundred paces from the Roman camp. However, though the two armies were so near one another, they did not come to an engagement so soon as might have been expected; as both the Romans and Carthaginians were afraid to put all to the hazard in one battle. As long as Hanno seemed desirous of fighting, the Romans kept within their camp, because the enemy were superior in number and flushed with victory, while they were discouraged and intimidated by the loss of their cavalry.

CHAP.

LIV.

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LV.



valry. Yet when they saw their delay sunk the spirits of their allies, and raised those of the enemy, and withal that they were like to suffer more from want of provisions, than from the Carthaginians, they no longer declined fighting. Then began Hanno to flinch on his side, and fear the worst. In this manner did two months pass, without any more considerable action than the skirmishes which daily happened.

CHAP. AT last, at the frequent instances of Hannibal,  
 LVI. who sent messengers daily, and often lighted fires to inform him, that the besieged could no longer endure the famine, and that it obliged many of his men to desert to the enemy, he determined without farther delay to give battle. At the same time Hannibal was to make a sally with his troops. When the Roman consuls perceived this, they remained quiet in their camp. This induced Hanno more boldly to make his bravadoes with his army in battalia. And when nobody came out to meet him he advanced to their entrenchments, dared them to fight, and reproached them with cowardice and fear for not giving him battle. But they were content with repulsing him by skirmishes from their lines, and neither opposed him, when he staid, with their army in battalia, nor pursued him when he retreated. After they had spent many days in this manner, and the Carthaginians were persuaded that the Romans durst not venture any farther, the consul L. Posthumius wisely turned the enemy's contempt to his own advantage. For having privately drawn up his men in battalia, and kept them within the lines, he only sent out small detachments to drive away the Carthaginians who advanced as usual. By these skirmishes he detained them from day-break till noon, and then bringing out all his legions attacked the enemy as they were retiring.

CHAP. THOUGH Hanno saw himself obliged to fight  
 LVII. contrary to his expectation, yet he fought with great intrepidity, and the victory continued doubtful till the



the evening. But as the Romans had refreshed their bodies, and prepared themselves for fighting, they could better endure the scorching heat, thirst and fatigue : whereas the Carthaginian troops, which had been wearied with hunger and standing under arms before the battle began, their strength decaying in proportion as the battle was longer continued, made a fainter resistance. At last their mercenaries, who fought in the front, were able to sustain the fatigue no longer, and not only gave ground themselves, but falling in their precipitate flight upon the body of elephants, and the lines that were drawn up behind them, put their whole army into confusion, and forced them to fly before the enemy who charged them with great vigor. On the other side the Romans had no less success; for Hannibal, who had made a sally, was driven back into the town with greater loss on his side than on that of the enemy. The Carthaginian camp was taken, three elephants wounded, thirty killed and eleven fell into the hands of the Romans. The troops met with no better fate ; for of so numerous an army few escaped with their general to Heraclea.

THE condition of the besieged was manifestly desperate, and as they had no means of safety remaining, they were in the utmost consternation. But Hannibal, who contrived to make the best of his bad fortune, observing that the Romans were not only fatigued with the battle, but more remiss and careless in keeping guard through joy of their victory, quitted the city at the third watch of the night with his mercenaries. For having prepared for this purpose hurdles full of straw, he filled up the moat, passed over and was pretty far advanced on his march before day-break, when the Romans, perceiving what had happened, followed and cut off some of his rear. Hannibal with the rest escaped to a place of security. But the Agrigentines seeing themselves abandoned by the Carthaginians, either from a principle of revenge, or to pay their



court to the conquerors, put many of those who remained in the city to the sword. Notwithstanding their city was plundered, and upwards of twenty-five thousand freemen sold for slaves.

CHAP. LIX. IN this manner was Agrigentum, after a siege of seven months, taken by the Romans, to their great glory and advantage, but not without the effusion of much blood. For during this siege upwards of thirty thousand of the consular armies and their Sicilian auxiliaries perished by different diseases and by the sword. Therefore, as the approach of winter hindered them from undertaking any other important enterprize, they returned to Messina. Then the generals returned to Rome in hopes of a triumph, and the succeeding consuls, L. Valerius Flaccus son of Marcus and grandson of one of the same name, and T. Otacilius Crassus, son of Caius and grandson of Marcus, went to command in Sicily. The Carthaginians, by sending a fleet as it were to plunder the coast of Italy, thought to divert the new consuls from minding Sicily. But they, having placed detachments along the coast to beat off the ravagers, passed over into that island. Then many towns there, terrified by the late example of the destruction of the Agrigentines, put themselves under the protection of the Romans. Nor could the Carthaginians oppose them in this step; for besides their defeat, they were extremely perplexed by the mutinies among their mercenaries. The Gauls in particular mutined for want of some months pay. To be revenged on them Hanno contrived the following stratagem.

CHAP. LX MOLLIFYING them with fair speeches, he beg'd them "to be quiet for a little time," and told them "he had certain hopes of making himself " master of a rich city, by the plunder of which he " assured them he would make them ample amends " for their arrears." When he had thus pacified them, and they had thank'd him for his favor, he dealt with his treasurer who was very faithful to him, "to go to the consul Otacilius, under pretext of " deserting

L. Val.  
Flaccus and  
T. Ota.  
Crassus  
consuls.  
Y. of R. 491.  
B. J. C. 261.



“ deserting because he could not make up his accompts,  
“ and inform him that next night four thousand Gauls  
“ were to come to Entella <sup>a</sup>, which was to be be-  
“ trayed to them, and that it would be easy to sur-  
“ round them by laying an ambuscade.” Though  
the consul did not rely much on the faith of this  
deserter, yet he did not think his advice was to be  
despised, and therefore detached a choice body of  
troops. The Gauls, deceived by Hanno, came  
likewise. When the Romans started up to attack  
them there arose a smart battle, in which the Gauls  
were all cut off, but not without selling their lives  
very dear. This gave Hanno the double joy of  
chastising the insolence of his mercenaries, and de-  
stroying a considerable number of his enemies.

IN the mean time at Rome the prætor Minucius  
brought in a bill to the senate about bringing the  
water of the Anio into the city <sup>a</sup>. The censor M.  
Curius had appointed the expence of that work to  
be defrayed out of the spoils. But by many obstacles  
intervening, the business had been delay’d nine years,

<sup>a</sup> It’s ruins still preserve it’s name, and are to be seen in the valley of Mazara, on the river *Belice Dextro*.

<sup>a</sup> This aquæduct which Curius made, passed through Tivoli, and supplied that place with water, as well as Rome; so that it was reckon- ed to be 44287 geometrical paces long, that is, above fourteen leagues, from the place where it begun, to the gate Trigemina, where it ended. This aquæduct was carried on above ground, upon stone-arches, for the space of 702 geometrical paces. The mouth of this long canal was in a place called the salt-pits, near the gate before- mentioned. There was a reservoir for collecting the waters together, in order to their being conveyed into the different quarters of the city from thence. It is probable, that in the

space of fourteen leagues there were several other openings made at proper distances, for observing the course of the waters, and for the convenience of mending the pipes. Curius and Fulvius Flaccus were ordered to com- plete this work, in quality of duum- viri. But the former died five days after his promotion, according to Frontinus. It is easy to conceive, that a work of this nature could not be completed without immense labor, especially if we consider the rocks, or mountains which were to be bored through, the eminences which were to be levelled, and the ground which was to be raised, in order to preserve a level above fourteen leagues toge- ther. We find the name of this aquæ- duct, in an old inscription, which time has spared, and which runs thus;

ANIO VET. L. VALERIO SER. OFF. PLUMB. PED. CCIX.

The two abbreviations SER. OFF. which stand for Servus, and Officina- tor, signify, that a slave, who was a plumber, repaired the leaden pipes of this aquæduct, for 209 feet in

length. Yet after all, this water was too muddy to be fit to drink; and served only for the artificers in their business, and for watering of gardens. See vol. ii. b. ix. c. xxix. p. 428. n. e.



CHAP.

LXI.

when it was again revived. Curius and Fulvius Flaccus were appointed duumvirs to superintend the work: but as Curius died within five days after his promotion, Fulvius had all the honor of bringing in the water. At the same time Hamilcar came to succeed Hanno in Sicily. For when Hanno returned home after his defeat, he was received by the Carthaginians with great marks of disgrace. They fined him in six thousand crowns of gold, and removed him from the office of præfect. Some historians, who were misled by the likeness of the names, have erroneously asserted, that this Hamilcar was father of Hannibal, who commanded in the second Punic war. But Hamilcar, the father of Hannibal, only came to command in Sicily when he was very young in the end of this war. Yet his renown has given occasion to ascribe the acts of an Hamilcar of less note, to him who was surnamed Barca, and was the most famed person of all that name. Hamilcar, who succeeded Hanno, perceiving that the Roman land army was much superior to his, durst neither attack the inland towns, nor come down from the steep hills and mountains into the champaign country. But as he had a strong fleet, which without dispute made him master at sea, he was very active in using it. For having again sent Hannibal to ravage the coast of Italy, he himself cruized round that of Sicily, and easily recovered many maritime places, which had joined the Romans. Thus while the Romans easily conquered and defended the inland towns, and the Carthaginians those on the coast, the hopes and fears of the one side balanced those of the other; nor was it easy to judge upon the whole which of them would come off conquerors in the issue of the war.

End of the SIXTEENTH BOOK.



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JOHN FREINSHEIM'S  
SUPPLEMENT  
TO THE  
ROMAN HISTORY  
BY

TITUS LIVIUS of *Padua*.

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DECADE II. BOOK XVII.

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*The consul, Cn. Cornelius, surrounded by the Carthaginian fleet, and treacherously decoy'd under pretext of a conference, is taken prisoner. The consul, Cn. Duilius, defeats the Punic fleet, and is the first Roman general, who triumphs for a victory gained at sea. For which victory he had this honor bestowed on him as long as he lived, to be attended home with music and flambeaux, whenever he returned from supping in the city. L. Cornelius the consul defeats the Sardinians, Corsicans, and Hanno the Punic general, in Sardinia. The consul Calatinus Attilius, who rashly leads his army into a disadvantageous post, where it is surrounded by the Carthaginians, is extricated by the means and valor of M. Calpurnius, a legionary tribune, who, by sallying out with three hundred foot, diverts them solely on himself and his detachment. Hannibal, the Carthaginian admiral, having lost in battle the fleet under his command, is crucified by his troops. The consul, Attilius Regulus, defeats the Carthaginians at sea, and invades Africa.*

THE fourth year of the Punic war was now CHAP.  
ended, nor had the Romans reason to repent I.  
their having undertaken it either on account of their  
bravery or success. For as often as they fought ei-  
ther



CHAP.

I.



ther with the Syracusans or Carthaginians, they had come off conquerors in every battle: they had taken many wealthy towns by storm, and got possession of others by capitulation. But as this war was carried on in an island, they could neither get provisions nor supplies sent them when they stood in need of them. And the Carthaginian fleet, by sudden and free descents, not only safely harassed the maritime cities of Sicily; but even by making frequent descents on the coast of Italy, did great damage to the Roman territories, and brought reproach upon their reputation, while Africa was free from harm and exempt from all the dangers and calamities of war. Therefore the Roman senate and people, after having seriously weighed the matter, came to a resolution, to prepare a navy in order to try their fortune against the Carthaginians by sea, as well as fight them by land as they had hitherto done.

CHAP.

II.



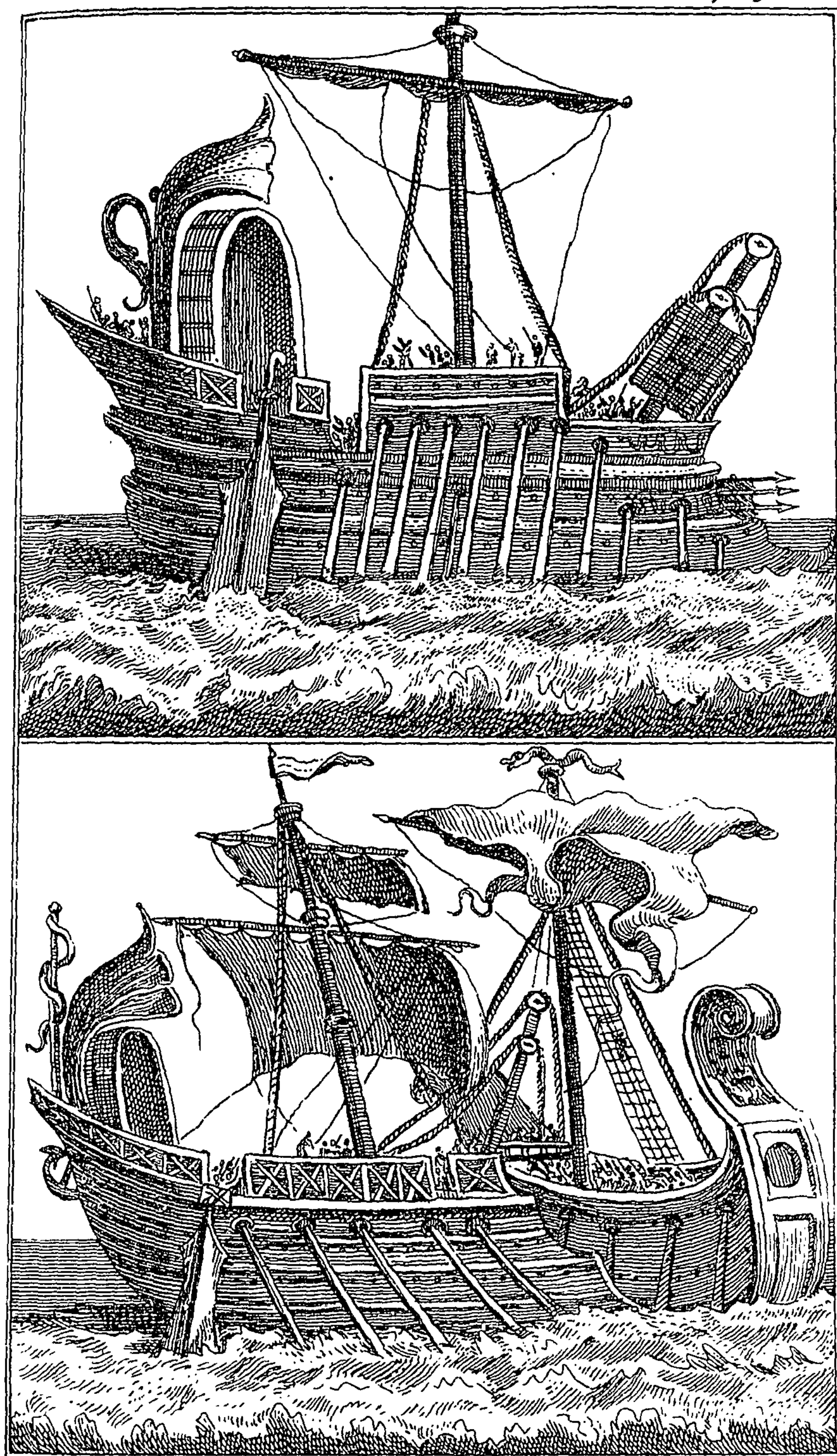
THIS was the first time the Romans had applied themselves in earnest to naval affairs; and they executed their scheme with a greatness of mind and success proportioned to so bold and wise an undertaking. So that, since they had courage to undertake, ingenuity to direct, and constancy to accomplish their plan of fighting against a people so experienced in maritime affairs, it may justly be allowed, that they might challenge the empire of the world as their due. For though till that very time the Romans were such strangers to fighting at sea, that they had not men among them who had seen a sea-fight, no ships of war, nor skilful builders, yet they set about this grand undertaking with so great resolution, that in an inconceivably short time they both sent a fleet to sea, fought naval battles, and likewise conquered a people who for many ages had been most experienced navigators. The care of building the fleet was committed to Cn. Cornelius Scipio Asina son of Lucius and grandson of Cneius, and C. Duilius, son of Marcus and grandson of one of the same name, who had lately entered into their consulate.

Cn. Cornel.  
Asina and  
C. Duilius  
consuls.

Y. of R. 492.  
B. J. C. 260.

THEY







THEY had one Carthaginian quinquireme<sup>a</sup>, which, at the time when Claudius was attempting to pass the strait into Sicily, had, from an eager desire of fighting, come so near the shore, that she run aground on the flats and shallows, and was taken by the soldiers on land. The consuls ordered to make it the model for building their ships. And they ply'd the work so vigorously, that within sixty days after the timber was felled, they had a fleet of one hundred and sixty sail riding at anchor. The consuls promoted this expedition no less by an ingenious invention than by their diligence. For as they did not think it advisable to risk a battle with inexperienced rowers, and were unwilling to waste the time that should be employed in action, in marine exercise, they invented a method, which at first sight may seem ridiculous, but in the end proved commendable for its usefulness. For while the ships were building, those who were afterwards to row them, were instructed in their business sitting on the shore. They were placed upon benches in the same order, which they were soon to observe aboard the galleys, with a boatswain placed in the middle. At his signal and command they moved, plyed or stopt their oars in the same manner as they used to do at sea. This exercise, which was but a representation of the real, taught them so much skill, that when the ships were launched, and for a few days they had given proof of their knowledge in rowing, the consuls ventured to entrust their own and the lives of the legions to them.

AFTERWARDS when they cast lots for the provinces, the command of the land war in Sicily fell to C. Duilius, and that of the fleet to C. Cornelius. The latter set sail with seventeen ships to Messina, in order to prepare necessaries against the arrival of the main fleet, which he had ordered to follow with all possible expedition. But before it could enter the strait, he fell into the enemy's hands. This was

<sup>a</sup> Vessels with five banks of oars.



CHAP.

IV.



effected by the policy of Boodes, who was commodore of the Carthaginian fleet under Hannibal, and also by the credulity of the consul, who, giving credit to some Liparenfians that had been suborned by the enemy, rashly conceived hopes of seizing Lipari<sup>a</sup>, which they were to betray to him. There being surrounded by some Carthaginian ships, he resolved to fight his way through them. But Boodes, by another stratagem, decoyed him and the legionary tribunes on board his trireme, under pretext of parleying with him about an accommodation, and as soon as they came, laid them in irons. This struck so great terror into the rest of the crews that they surrendered without fighting. And Boodes having made himself master of all their ships sent his prisoners to Carthage.

CHAP.

V.



SOON after the Carthaginian admiral was guilty of a like oversight, for which he was more blameable, because the late example of the consul's want of thought might have put him on his guard. He had got intelligence that the Roman fleet was coasting along Italy, steering their course for the streights, and could not be far off. Desirous therefore to take a near view of it, and inform himself exactly of the number and condition of the ships, and the dexterity of the Romans in this new art, he came out with fifty ships, without apprehending any future danger, and sailed in a confused huddled manner, as is common where persons think themselves secure. But in doubling a certain cape he fell in on a sudden with the Roman fleet, sailing in good order. And being defeated before he could draw up his fleet in line of battle, after having lost the best part of his ships, and been himself in the greatest danger, he with difficulty escaped with the rest.

CHAP.

VI.



THE victorious fleet having been informed of Cornelius's disaster, sent messengers to C. Duilius to inform him of their arrival. Finding at the same time that the rest of the Carthaginian fleet was riding not far off, they prepared for battle. Here, as they

<sup>a</sup> See above book xvi. chap. xviii. p. 278. n. a.



were in perplexity ruminating on the unweildiness of their own vessels, and considering, that as they were coarsely built, those of the Carthaginians would far outrun them in sailing, one of them invented a machine afterwards called a crow for catching hold of and stopping the enemy's ships. The form of it was as follows. A streight long and round beam, four cubits in length and nine inches thick, with a pulley at the top of it, was fixed in the prow of the vessel. To this was fitted a kind of ladder six cubits broad, and four foot long, made of cross planks, strongly nailed together. In this machine was left an oblong hole, by which being claped upon the beam, it laid hold of it, and kept fast to it for the space of four cubits, which was the length of the beam.

CHAP.  
VI.

THE remaining part of the ladder which was two cubits not fastened to the beam, hung as it were by certain joints in such a manner that it could easily be raised or let down. On the farther end of it was fixed a strong sharp iron pestel, with a ring in the top of it, from which a rope run through the pulley at the top of the beam, and came down again to the prow of the vessel. By this means, when the rope was pulled, it raised the bridge, and when it was let go, it fell down, piercing and keeping fast whatever it laid hold of by the sharp point of the iron pestel. In the mean time Duilius left the command of the land forces to the legionary tribunes, repaired to the fleet, and being informed that the enemy were ravaging the territories of Mylæ, set sail with his whole fleet for that coast. This was an agreeable fight to the Carthaginians, who promised themselves a certain victory against those inlanders who were but novices in sea affairs. But their fate ought to be a warning to posterity, that no enemy ought to be so much despised, as to render one less cautious and wary.

CHAP.  
VII.

THE same Hannibal, who had stole with his troops out of Agrigentum, commanded the fleet on board a septireme, which had formerly belonged to king Pyrrhus. The rest followed their admiral's ship, not in order or line of battle as if they had been going

CHAP.  
VIII.



## CHAP.

## VIII.

going to fight, but hurried on, in contempt of the enemy, as each had opportunity. But when they came a little nearer and saw the terrible crows on the prows of their enemy's ships, being struck with the novelty of the thing they lay by for some time. At length the most forward among them, deriding this rude device of their inexperienced enemy, advanced furiously with the ships that were most on head. Then were the crows suddenly let down, and where they lighted on any vessel, they pierced her planks in such a manner as to stick fast and hold her, whether her crew would or not. But if it happened so that the vessels grappled along side, the Roman soldiers boarded on all quarters. But when the prows were only fastened together, by the beam and bridge that was fixed to it, they passed over two abreast, and that with the more expedition as the ledges of the bridge were raised knee high on each side, which gave them safe and sure footing. For every foremost file defended their faces by holding their bucklers before them, and those that followed claped theirs close to the ledge of the bridge on each side. Being thus likewise guarded in flank, they boarded the enemy's galley, and fought not with beak running against beak, but with swords and hand to hand, as if they had been at land.

## CHAP.

## IX.

BY this means the Romans, who were the stronger men, got an easy victory over men, that were lightly armed and relied more on the easy working and swiftness of their ships, than on their arms. In a short time thirty Punic vessels, among which was the admiral's septireme, were taken. Yet Hannibal escaped being made a prisoner by leaping out of the ship after she was taken, into a skiff. And having dispatched one of his friends with the utmost expedition to Carthage, so as to reach it before the news of this defeat, he by a stratagem warded off the punishment, which threatned him for his ill success. For when his friend entered the senate-house, as if the



nothing had not been done, he asked the senate, whether they thought it advisable to engage the Roman fleet." Upon which they cried out with one voice, "that he ought not to hesitate or delay giving battle." Upon which he said, "he has done so, and has been defeated." Thus not daring to blame an action, which each of them would have for his own part consented to and advised, before he knew it was done, the admiral was acquitted from receiving capital punishment, but removed from the command of the fleet.

AFTER the flight of the admiral out of the battle, the rest of the Carthaginian fleet (for the greatest part of it had not engaged) were at a great loss and in suspense what resolution to take. As they had not yet sustained any loss, and the enemy had not attacked them, they were ashamed to quit the battle. And on the other hand they dreaded the crews so much that they did not care to attack the Romans. But at last they sail'd round it on all sides, and exerted all their naval skill; but seeing the beaks of the ships with these formidable machines planted against them on every quarter, they sheered off in despair of being able to beat them. In that battle it is said, fourteen Carthaginian ships were sunk, thirty one taken with seven thousand prisoners besides three thousand men, who had perished in the action. Thus did the consul Duilius defeat the Carthaginians at the islands of Lipari, and his victory derived great advantage, but still greater glory and renown to the Roman people. The consul rejoined his land forces and marched to Segesta which he relieved, after it had been reduced to the greatest extremity by the Carthaginians. Then he took Macella by storm, while Hamilcar durst not face him any where, and having encouraged his allies, as the summer was now over, he returned to Rome.

UPON his departure the Carthaginian affairs began to revive again. For in the first place the Romans were obliged to raise the siege of Mutistratus<sup>a</sup>,

CHAP.

x.

CHAP.

xi.

<sup>a</sup> It stood near the river Alæsus, and is now called Mystrette, in the west of Sicily.



CHAP. XI. after they had lost a great many men and lain before it seven months, In the next place, a quarrel arising between them and their auxiliaries, the latter encamped separately from the Roman legions between Paropus and Thermæ. Hamilcar took advantage of their folly, and fell on a sudden on four thousand of them, whom he cut to pieces. The whole Roman army had very near been involved in the same disaster. And at the same time Hannibal made himself master of many cities, some of which he took by storm and others were betrayed into his hands. Though the news of these misfortunes were not agreeable to the Romans, yet they looked on them as inconsiderable losses amidst the joy they had from their naval victory. For whereas the Romans had hitherto only signalized themselves by an invincible bravery in land engagements, they were overjoyed, and not without cause, that by this victory they had acquired no mean reputation for strength at sea. From whence they conceived the greatest hopes of success in the whole war, and they thought the author of a glory entirely new deserved unprecedented honors.

CHAP. XII. DUILIUS, therefore, first celebrated a naval triumph over the Sicilians, and Carthaginian fleet on the first of february. And not content with this honor the state indulged him in another unexampled distinction, in a private person, which he assumed to himself, that he should be attended with a flambeaux and music, whenever he returned from supping in the city. Likewise by an act of the senate a triumphal column of white Parian marble, adorned with the beaks of ships, was erected in the forum. On it was put an inscription, which contained the number of ships that were either taken or sunk, and the sums of money that were seized. It is to be seen at this day, but time has defaced some of the words. Nevertheless it is visible enough that three thousand seven hundred pieces of gold, upwards of one hundred thousand pieces of silver, twenty one hundred



hundred thousand pound weight of copper, were taken. When the triumph was ended Duilius held the comitia, and L. Cornelius Scipio, son of Lucius and grandson of Cneius, C. Aquilius Florus son of Marcus and grandson of Caius, were chosen consuls. The senate passed an act, that the provinces of the consuls should be Sicily and the command of the fleet, and left him, whose lot should be the latter, at liberty to pass over to Sardinia and Corsica, if he should think it for the benefit of the republic.

L. Cornel.  
Scipio and  
C. Aquilius  
Florus  
consuls.  
Y. of R. 493.  
B. J. C. 259.

WHEN this fell to Cornelius's lot, he set sail with a fleet completely equipped. This was the Romans first expedition into Corsica and Sardinia. These two Islands are situated so near each other, that one at a distance would imagine them to be but one; yet they differ very much in the nature of their climate and soil, and consequently in the genius of their inhabitants. As Sardinia in form resembles the print of a man's foot, the ancients called it Ichnusa, and also Sandaliotis. It is farther said, that Sardus son of the Libyan Hercules gave this Island, which he frequented very much, its present name. According to some ancient poetical fables, the Grecians, under Aristæus, and likewise the Trojans after the Trojan war, came to this island. The country itself for extent<sup>a</sup> and richness of soil is little inferior to the largest and most fertile islands in that sea. It produces excellent cattle, and great plenty of corn, and is rich in mines, especially of silver. Yet its air is not very wholesom, and in the account of strangers the unhealthiness thereof in a great measure balances its reputation for fertility; for in the summer, especially in the most fruitful parts, it is extremely unhealthy.

CHAP.  
XIII.

BESIDES it produces a strongly poisonous herb, very like mint, which turns people mad when eaten, and so violently contracts the muscles of their faces and so distorts the lips, that they look as if they were laughing. The juice of it proves mortal, unless they first vomit and afterwards drink plentifully

CHAP.  
XIV.

<sup>a</sup> It is reckoned to be about 570 miles in circumference.



CHAP.  
XIV.

of milk or emulsion. By this means for the present the force of the poison is broke, and afterwards the other ill effects of it are cured by the same remedies which are used in convulsions of the nerves. There is also a very small creature whose bite proves mortal to those who incautiously sit upon it. It is a kind of emet and called Solpuga, and one is in great danger of being hurt by it, because it is so small, that it cannot easily be seen, and those who are ignorant of it's nature are in no apprehension of their danger when they do see it. As the Sardinians are a medley of several barbarous nations, when left to follow their own genius, chuse rather to live by thieving than by husbandry. Their arms are a target and short sword. They wear breast-plates made of the skins of musmones, a name they give to rams bred in that country, which do not bear wool as other sheep do, but hair like goats. The principal city of it is Caralis<sup>a</sup> which lies opposite to Africa, was peopled from thence, and has a good harbor.

CHAP.  
XV.

CORSICA<sup>a</sup> is not to be compared with Sardinia either for extent or wealth; yet it is supposed to hold the third rank for largeness among those islands. The natives say, that it had it's name from a woman named Corfa, from whose herd a bull had swam over from Liguria into that island. The Greeks call it Cyrenus. It is mountainous, rugged, and in many places unpassable, and breeds a people that partake of the nature of the soil, being of a brutal disposition, and almost more intractable than the very wild beasts. When they are made slaves they can never be tamed, but either through impatience of labor and servitude lay violent hands on themselves, or become very troublesom to their masters by their stubbornness and stupidity. The island produces great plenty of honey, but of a bitter taste, like what is

<sup>a</sup> Now Cagliari.

<sup>a</sup> It is now divided into two parts, one on the hither side of the mountains, in which are 45 small districts, wherein stand the capital Bastia, and Balagua, Alaria, Corte, Calvi, and

the cape of Corsica; the other on the farther side of the mountains, where are 21 districts, and stand the cities of Ajazzo, Boniface, Portovachio and Sarna.



gathered from the blossom of the box tree, which grows in great quantities and very thick in Corsica. Yet it's honey is reputed to be very wholesom, and some persons are of opinion, that the Corsicans living to so great an age, is owing to their constant eating it. It's towns are not very large nor well inhabited, yet they exceed thirty in number. The principal of which without dispute are Aleria<sup>a</sup>, founded by a colony of Phocæans, and Nicæa<sup>b</sup>, by a colony of Hetrurians. The air here is likewise foggy, and besides there are no sea ports on the coast.

WITH these nations the Carthaginians had long had war, and made themselves sovereign masters of both islands, excepting such places in them as were inaccessible. But as it was easier to conquer than tame an uncivilized and barbarous people, they fell on other devices to restrain them. They destroyed all the corns and fruits of the country in order to oblige the natives to fetch every thing necessary to life from Africa, and made it death for those poor wretches, if any of them should sow any grain or plant fruit trees<sup>a</sup>, till by long custom they made them more tractable, and taught them with more patience to submit to their government. At this time the consul Cornelius set out on an expedition to these islands. And first he took Aleria, a town of Corsica, by storm, by which action he easily, and without trouble or danger, brought over the rest. Then he set sail for Sardinia, and in his passage fell in with the enemy's fleet, which he attacked; but it fled before they could come to a close engagement.

THEN he steered his course to Olbia<sup>a</sup>; but as he saw many Carthaginian ships in the harbor, and did not think his land army sufficient to undertake the siege of a city so strongly situated and garisoned,

CHAP.

xvi.

CHAP.

xvii.

<sup>a</sup> This ancient city is no longer in being, though a city in the island retains the name at this day.

<sup>b</sup> No traces of it left.

<sup>a</sup> See Aristotle.

<sup>a</sup> Then a large city on the east

side of Sardinia. It's ruins are still to be seen, and it's name is retained in Obbia Rovinata. By Ptolemy's description of it's harbor, we may conclude it was formed by the present capes Comino and Cavallo.



CHAP. he sailed home to bring a re-inforcement of troops.  
 XVII. At the same time an insurrection of the slaves, which was happily quelled in it's birth, at once filled the state with, and freed it from great trouble. Great numbers of seamen had been pressed, to man the fleet, out of the nations which had been lately subdued. Four thousand of these, the greater part of which were Samnites, had then rendezvoused at Rome. These Samnites, having an aversion for the sea service, complained of their miserable condition in private cabals, and at last became so transported with rage, that they formed a scheme to rifle and burn the city. This conspiracy daily gathered strength, and they had already brought three thousand slaves into their plot, when Erius Potilius a captain of the auxiliaries, by his prudence wholly prevented this dangerous design. For under pretext of favoring the plot, he exactly learned all their intrigues; knew the quality, number and names of each of them, and found out the places where, and time when every thing was to be put in execution.

CHAP. HE now wanted nothing but an opportunity to  
 XVIII. go to the senate-house and inform the senate, which he had the strongest inclination to do; but as the Samnites would never suffer him to go any where without some of them to attend him, he could not execute his design. At last having thought of a device, he persuaded them "to go in a body into the  
 " forum on the day when the senate was assembled  
 " and there exclaim of their having been cheated in  
 " measuring out their corn;" telling them, "that  
 " this would either give them an opportunity of executing their designs, or at least discover, what  
 " courage and prudence the fathers would shew  
 " against such insurrections." And the better to gain credit, he went along with them, and not only made an accomplice in this riot, but was the ringleader in it. Whereupon being summoned before the senate he discovered the reasons of his own device, and the secret and dangerous plot.



THE senate concealed their knowing any thing of the matter, and sent persons to persuade that mob by fair speeches to go home, and with orders to tell them, “ that the fathers would take care the “ injury said to have been done them should be re- “ dressed, and each of them have justice done him.”

CHAP.  
XIX.

Upon this the conspirators, fondly imagining their plot was still a secret, went home. But next night every master put in chains such of his slaves, as by Potilius's discovery, they knew were accomplices in this villainous design. The greatest part of the Samnites were likewise apprehended in their lodgings. I am not certain, whether it was this disturbance, or some other material business or sickness, that hindered C. Florus from going sooner into Sicily, where Hamilcar after his last victory had greatly re-instated the Carthaginian affairs. For after he had Camarina and Enna<sup>a</sup> betrayed to him, he fortified Drepanum, which had an excellent harbor, and made it a town, having transplanted thither the inhabitants of Eryx, which town he had demolished all except the temple of Venus, to prevent it's being of any service to the Romans. After this he took many other places by storm or stratagem, and seemed as if he would soon have got possession of all Sicily, had not Florus, who for that reason was obliged to stay all winter in that island, stopt his progress.

THE other consul did not find so much difficulty in fighting with the Sardinians and Carthaginians at Olbia. On his return thither with his army re-inforced, he found Hanno, whom, on the removal of Hannibal, the Carthaginians had made admiral of their fleet. After a very obstinate battle, wherein Hanno fought most bravely, when he saw that his own men were defeated, he rushed into the thickest of the enemy, where he was killed, and upon this the town surrendered. The consul enhanced the glory of this victory by a remarkable example of humanity, which he shewed towards this enemy. For lay-

CHAP.  
XX.

<sup>a</sup> See below chap. xxv. n. 2.



ing aside all enmity after death, and rightly judging that valor was to be honored even in an enemy, he caused Hanno's body to be buried, and honored him with a splendid funeral. Afterwards, without losing the opportunity of improving the terror of his late victory, he took many other towns in Sardinia, and had recourse to stratagem and conduct to assist his bravery.

## CHAP.

XXI.

HE used to approach the shore with his fleet at night, and land some choice troops near the towns, which he had determined to attack. These posted themselves in ambush in some convenient place, and waited, till the consul's coming up to the towns gave the townsmen the alarm, and, by a feigned flight, drew them far from the walls. Then these detachments advanced at a speedy pace, and took the cities while they had no soldiers to defend them. By this stratagem he got possession of several cities; and made such progress in his conquests, that the Carthaginian army could not stand against him either in Corsica or Sardinia. For which reason it was not doubted but he would have a very splendid triumph granted him on his return to Rome. He triumphed over Sardinia, Corsica and the Carthaginians on the fifth of the ides of March, carrying before him a great booty and many thousand prisoners which he had brought from these islands. But C. Florus the proconsul in Sicily besieged Mutistratus, a fortified town, and several times in vain attempted to take it.

## CHAP.

XXII.

A. Atil.  
Calatinus  
and C. Sul.  
Paterculus  
consuls.

Y. of R. 494.  
B. J. C. 258.

NOR indeed was he able to take it before the new consul, A. Atilius Calatinus son of Aulus and grandson of Caius came to Sicily, which province had fallen by lot to him. The command of the fleet had fallen by lot to his colleague C. Sulpicius Paterculus son of Quintus and grandson to one of the same name. These two went with all their forces to Panormus<sup>a</sup>, where the Carthaginians had their winter quarters, drew up their army in battalia, and offered the enemy battle. But as none came out to engage

<sup>a</sup> Palermo on the north side of the island.



them, they went to Hippana <sup>b</sup>, which town they at- CHAP.  
tacked on their march and immediately took it. XXII.  
From thence Atilius marched to Mutistratus <sup>c</sup>, which  
the garison, tired with the lamentations of the women  
and children, at last abandoned after a very obstinate  
defence. It went out in the night time, and at day  
break the towns-people opened their gates. But the  
Romans, repenting too severely the hardships they  
had undergone in the siege, put those they met to  
the sword without distinction of age or sex, till A.  
Atilius ordered proclamation to be made “ that the  
“ booty and prisoners should be theirs who seized  
“ them.”

THEN at length their avarice got the better of CHAP.  
their cruelty, and they spared the rest of the inhabi- XXIII.  
tants, who were sold by auction. The town was  
rifled and demolished. Then he took his rout to-  
wards Camarina, but as he had not carefully recon-  
noitred the country, he exposed himself to very great  
danger. For the Carthaginian general having come  
out to meet him, had seized the eminences before him,  
and surrounded the Roman army which had unwari-  
ly marched into a narrow valley. The whole troops  
had nothing in view but certain destruction, and the  
image of the disgrace at Caudium <sup>a</sup> was lively pictur-  
ed in their breasts. But the valor and resolution of  
M. Calpurnius Flamma, who was a legionary tribune  
in the same army, relieved them out of their almost  
desperate state. He after the example of P. Decius <sup>b</sup>,  
a legionary tribune, who had done the same in Sam-  
nium, took with him three hundred brave fellows  
and went to take possession of a small eminence.  
They had no hopes of escape, and both he and the  
private soldiers were solely animated by a love of  
praise and a desire to save the army. It is said, as  
he led them to the place, he made them the follow-  
ing speech, “ Let us die, fellow soldiers, and by

<sup>b</sup> See below the note on Sittane,  
which was the same city, chap. xxv.

<sup>c</sup> See chap. xi. above.

<sup>a</sup> See vol. ii. book ix. chap. i, ii.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. book vii. chap. xxxiv.



“our death deliver the invested legions” And in fact it happened so. For the enemy, having turned upon them, were so long employed, notwithstanding the superiority of their number, by the brave defence of those three hundred who were determined to die, that the consul got time to disengage himself from the defile. The Carthaginians killed that detachment which opposed them, and relying no longer on their ambuscade which was now discovered, they retired.

CHAP. CALPURNIUS's good fortune was next  
 XXIV. to a miracle. He was found amidst heaps of dead bodies both of his own men and the enemy, and as he was the only one among them who respired, was carried off and all manner of care taken to recover him. Amongst the many wounds that he had received not one was mortal, and he lived long, by his bravery and loyalty to do his country good service and be a terror to its enemies. Had this man given such proofs of his valor among Grecians, no rewards, no monuments would have been thought sufficient for him. But as he was a Roman all the reward he had for this exploit was a crown of grass. And so little care was taken to preserve the memory of this heroic action, that we scarce have any certainty concerning the name of this hero. Several authors say he was called Calpurnius Flamma. But M. Cato calls him Q. Cæditius, and Claudius Quadrigarius gives him the name of Laberius. However the consul, having disengaged himself from these defiles, ashamed of his error, and grown more cautious by the danger he had been in, attempted to besiege the town again with greater vigor and caution; but as he could not succeed without engines he borrowed them of Hiero. With these he battered down the walls, and when he got possession of the place he sold the greatest part of the inhabitants for slaves.

CHAP. THEN he advanced to Enna<sup>a</sup>, which was be-  
 XXV. trayed to him. The Romans, who had been let

<sup>a</sup> It is supposed to have stood on an eminence in the middle of Sicily, where stands the present Castro Janui.





into the town, put part of the garison to the sword; while the remainder escaped and fled to cities belonging to their party. He made himself master of Sitane<sup>b</sup> by mere valor, without having recourse to any stratagem; for he stormed the town and drove the garison out of it by main force. After that the lesser towns in that part of Sicily made no hesitation, but immediately sent deputies to the consul to surrender themselves to him. When he had placed garisons in such cities as he thought most convenient, he marched into the territories of Agrigentum, where he had the castle of Camicum betrayed to him. This struck such terror into the garison at Erbeffa, that they abandoned it and fled. Thus that city fell again into the hands of the Romans. The consul flushed with this success, advanced with his army to the city of Lipara, because he believed few of the inhabitants were in the Roman interest. But there he did not succeed so well as before. For Hamilcar having cunningly penetrated the consul's design, had secretly entered the town, and carefully watched a proper time to fall on him. The consul being ignorant, boldly and without precaution came under the walls, and the Carthaginians suddenly sallied out and put his army into great confusion. Many of the Romans were wounded and not a few killed in this attack.



IN the mean time the consul C. Sulpicius fought the Carthaginians several times with success in Sardinia, which encouraged him to so great a degree, that he ventured to sail to Africa. The Carthaginians, considering this as an intolerable insult, gave the command of their fleet a second time to Hannibal, who still lived at Carthage ever since his defeat in Sicily. They joined many able sea officers in commission with him, with orders, "to drive this enemy's fleet from their native coasts." He put to sea in order to attack them; but a storm arose, which hindered them from

<sup>b</sup> Though we can't exactly determine the situation of this city, yet it is plain it stood between Panormus and Mystratum.



CHAP.  
XXVI.

engaging, and it shattered both fleets so much, that it obliged them against their wills to bear away for places of more shelter. Yet both admirals made the ports of Sardinia. As they rode at anchor there, Sulpicius, in order to draw the Carthaginians into the open sea, suborned certain persons, who, under pretext of deserters, might persuade Hannibal, “that the Romans were sailed again for Africa.” Imposed upon by this cheat, he speedily put to sea with his fleet, and fell in unawares with the consul, who waited in ambush for him in a convenient place. Many Carthaginian ships were sunk, before ever they knew what the matter was, while the coming on of night and the favor of a storm, very seasonably covered the snare the consul had laid for them.

CHAP.  
XXVII.

AT last, understanding the situation they were in, the remainder either put back to the harbor or run themselves on shore, where their crews abandoned them, and most of them were taken empty. And Hannibal despairing of being able to defend the haven, had betaken himself to the town of Sulci<sup>a</sup>, where a mutiny arising he was seized by the Carthaginians, who had fled to the same place from the battle. And “as they imputed their overthrow to his rashness and “folly,” they crucified him. But soon after this victory proved in some measure prejudicial to the Romans. For, as they had nothing farther to apprehend from the Punic fleet, they laid waste the country in contempt of the enemy and without fear, but were surprized and routed by the Carthaginians and Sardinians under the command of one Hanno. This year C. Duilius was censor, and built the temple of Janus<sup>b</sup> at the herb-market. Then were two triumphs seen at Rome; the first that of Aquilius Florus, who triumphed over the Carthaginians on the second of October; the second that of C. Sulpicius, who tri-

<sup>a</sup> The most southern point of the island of Sardinia, now called La Punta dell’ alga, formerly had the name of promontorium Sulcense from this town, the place of whose situ-

ation is still shewn near Palma di Sole, opposite to the present L’Isola di Sant’ Antiocho.

<sup>b</sup> Who presided over *ways out* and *ways in*. See Tacit. Annal. 11. 40. 2.



triumphed over the Carthaginians and Sardinians on the third of the same month.

AFTERWARDS in the second consulate of C. Atilius Regulus, son of Marcus and grandson of one of the same name, and Cn. Cornelius Blasio son of Lucius and grandson of Cneius, the senate ordered the usual ceremonies for expiating prodigies to be performed, because on mount Alba, many other places, and even in the city itself it had rained stones as thick as hail. They likewise ordered the *feriæ latinæ* to be renewed, for which purpose it was thought fit to appoint a dictator. Q. Ogulnius Gallus son of Lucius, and grandson of Aulus, was dictator, and M. Lætorius Plancianus, son of Marcus, and grandson of one of the same name, general of horse. When C. Atilius, who commanded the fleet, arrived at Tyndarida in Sicily, having descried the Carthaginian fleet sailing negligently, he suddenly formed a resolution to attack it. Therefore leaving orders for the rest of his fleet to follow, he put to sea in a hurry with ten galleys that could first be got ready, and crowding all his sail, and plying his oars as hard as he could, sailed to the Punic fleet, which was got a great way off.

CHAP.  
XXVIII.

At. Regulus  
and Corn.  
Blasio  
consuls.  
Y. of R. 495.  
B. J. C. 257.

Q. Oguln.  
Gallus dic-  
tator, and  
M. Lætor.  
Plancianus  
general of  
horse.

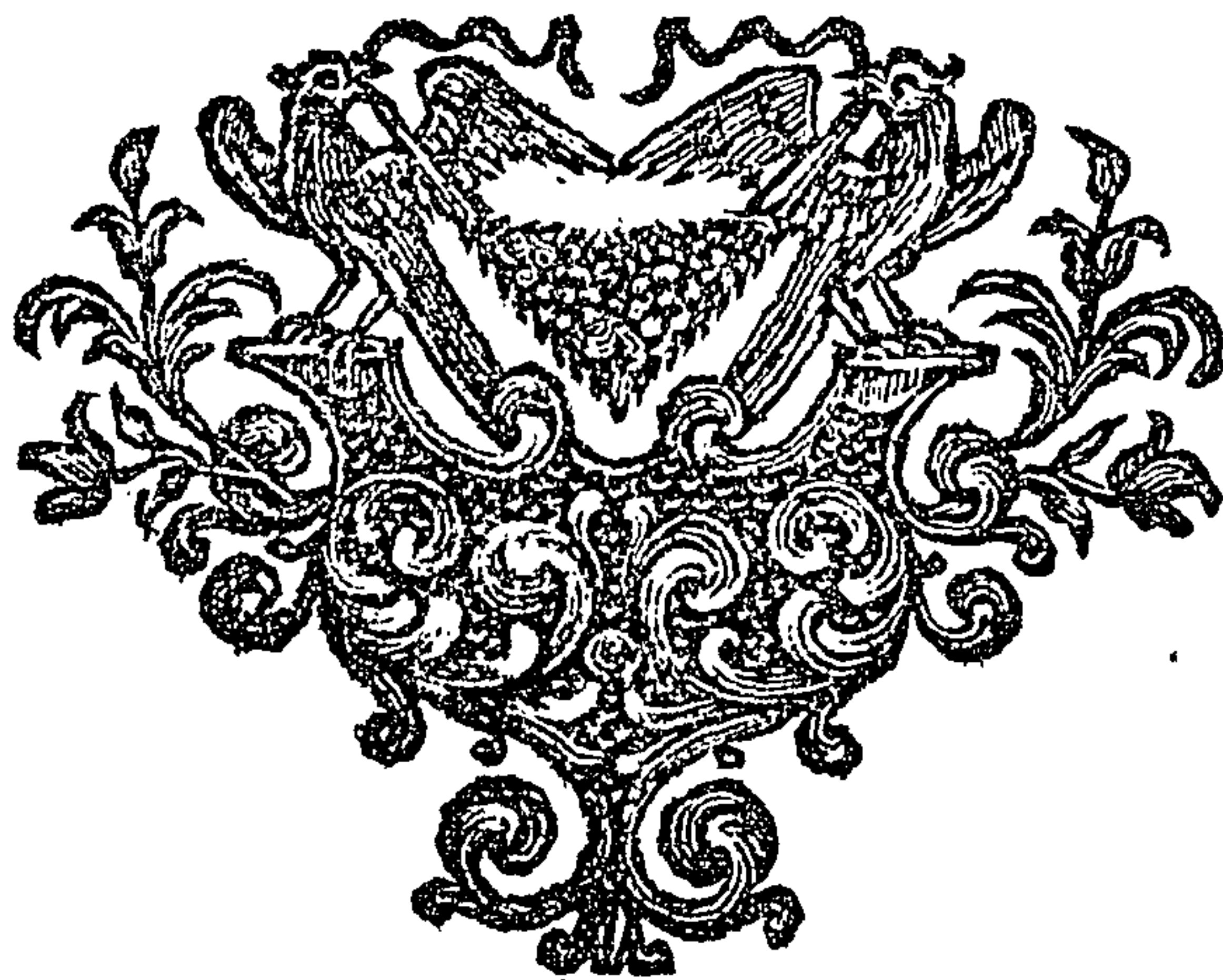
HAMILCAR, who was no contemptible admiral, was then in that fleet. When he saw but a few vessels bearing down upon him, others scarce got out of the harbor, and the greatest part of the Roman fleet still at anchor, he tacked and surrounded Atilius and his ships with his whole fleet. Nine of the consul's galleys being overpowered by so superior a number, were soon sunk, after they had tried all efforts in vain. But as the admiral's own ship was better manned with rowers than the rest, and its crew were animated by the consul's presence, she forced her way through, and escaped safe. By this time more of the Roman fleet were come up, and their arrival changed the fortune of the battle; for eight Punic vessels were sunk, and ten with their crews taken. The remainder stood away for the

CHAP.  
XXIX.



islands of Lipari. These were the exploits at sea. In the mean time the army at land made slower progress, and did not succeed in the siege of Lipara. But they wreaked their vengeance in laying waste the open country. And the same calamity reached the island of Malta, which lies at no great distance. For these exploits the consul C. Atilius had a naval triumph over the Carthaginians. The same year also the proconsul A. Atilius returned from Sicily, and on the eighteenth of January triumphed over the Carthaginians. Every thing then succeeded with the Romans, who, seeing themselves not only masters at land but at sea, thought no more of Sicily and the adjacent islands, which they looked on as a sure conquest, but began to consult about invading Africa, and carrying the terror of the war to the very gates of Carthage.

End of the SEVENTEENTH BOOK.





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JOHN FREINSHEIM'S  
 SUPPLEMENT  
 TO THE  
 ROMAN HISTORY  
 BY  
 TITUS LIVIUS of Padua.

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DECADE II. BOOK XVIII.

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*The consul Atilius Regulus kills, in Africa, a huge serpent, but not before it had slain a great many of his men. After fighting several battles with the Carthaginians, and the senate would not, on account of his success in the war, send him a successor, he writes letters to them complaining of that very affair; and among other reasons for his desiring a successor, he assigns his little farm's being deserted by his hired servants. At last, fortune being willing to shew in this Regulus a glorious example both of adversity and prosperity, he is defeated and taken prisoner by the Lacedæmonian Xanthippus, whom the Carthaginians had called in to command their army. After this several wrecks of Roman fleets eclipse all the lustre of their conquests by sea and land. T. Coruncanus raised to the high priesthood, the first plebeian who enjoyed that dignity. The censors P. Sempronius and Valerius Maximus in making up the roll of the senate, remove thirteen members. They finish a lustrum. The number of citizens registered amounts to two hundred ninety-seven thousand seven hundred ninety-seven. Regulus being sent by the Carthaginians to the senate to treat of a peace, and if he could not obtain that, to propose an exchange of prisoners, takes an oath he would return to Carthage, in case the Roman senate should not agree to an exchange. He persuades the senate not to agree to either of these proposals, and having religiously kept his vow, returns to the Carthaginians, who put him to death.*



## CHAP.

I.

L. Manl.  
Longus and  
Q. Cædicius  
consuls.  
The latter  
dying is suc-  
ceeded by  
M. Atil.  
Regulus.  
Y. of R. 496.  
B. J. C. 256.

THE next consuls were L. Manlius, commonly surnamed Longus, son of Aulus and grandson of Publius, and Q. Cædicius, whose father and grandfather were both named Quintus. The latter died in his office and was succeeded by M. Atilius Regulus, son of Marcus and grandson of Lucius, who had been consul once before. Africa, which hitherto had been exempt from all hostilities, this year began to feel the arms of the Romans, who entered it after having defeated the Carthaginian fleet in an obstinate battle at sea. Which exploits, together with the adverse and prosperous fate and undeserved death of that brave general Regulus, we shall in this book relate in the order wherein they happened. The former year, when the Carthaginians retreated first with the loss of many of their ships in the battle they fought with the consul C. Atilius, yet because some of the Roman vessels had likewise been sunk, they looked on themselves as on a level with the Romans, who thought they had got a certain victory. Hence it came to pass, that both nations in emulation of each other, applied themselves diligently to naval affairs with equal hopes and confidence.

## CHAP.

II.

THUS the consuls were ordered to carry the war into Africa. They arrived first at Messina with three hundred and thirty sail; then leaving the coast of Sicily on the right, they doubled cape Pachynus and bore down upon mount Ecnomus<sup>a</sup>, in order to take on board some land forces which were encamped there. At the same time Hamilcar the Carthaginian general, and Hanno their admiral, with a fleet of three hundred and sixty sail, came from Carthage to Lilybæum, and from thence to Heraclea of Minos. They anchored in the harbor of that city, in order to watch the motions of the Romans, and hinder them from passing into Africa, if they should

<sup>a</sup> A mountain in Sicily, now called *Monte d'Alicata*, or *di Licata*, at the mouth of the river *Salsi*.



attempt it. When the consuls got intelligence of this, they diligently prepared every thing necessary in either event, that they might be ready, either to fight at sea, if the enemy should offer them battle, or to make a descent in their country. Having therefore embarked the best of their troops, they divided their fleet into four squadrons, aboard the first they put the first legion, in the second and third, the second and third legions in their common rank, and on board the fourth the triarii.

THEY disposed these troops in such a manner, that each vessel carried three hundred sailors, and a hundred and twenty soldiers, so that the number of the men in the whole fleet amounted to one hundred and forty thousand. The Carthaginians exceeded this, for they brought with them upwards of one hundred and fifty thousand men. Indeed the consuls did not look on the Carthaginian soldiers as comparable to their own, but, as it appeared they were to fight in the open sea, where the swiftness of the vessels and skill in managing them was of the greatest service, their chief concern was how to range their ships so as to balance these defects. At last they concluded on the following method of marshalling their fleet. The two galleys of six benches of oars, on board of which the consuls were, were stationed side by side in the front. Behind each of them was posted a line of ships, one ship deep, and drawn up in such a manner as that all their prows were outermost. The first squadron formed one of these lines, and the second the other. There was but very little space between the hexaremes in the front, but those next to them were at a little greater distance; and thus the space left between the two opposite lines widened in proportion to the rank they held.

THUS as there was but little space between the headmost ships, and a very great distance between the last, the order in which these two squadrons were drawn up resembled an army marshalled in form of a wedge. Then the third squadron was placed in the base of the two former, extending from one end of the first squadron

CHAP.  
III.



CHAP.  
IV.





CHAP.

IV.



dron to that of the second, and the order of battle of the three had the form of an acute angled triangle. Behind this triangle, astern of the third squadron, were the transports towed by ropes fastened to the ships in the base line. Last of all was the triarii drawn up in one line extended in form of a half moon, so as to surround the former three squadrons, with it's wings. The whole fleet being drawn up in this manner, open before and close behind, resembled in figure the stem of a ship, and was no less adapted for sustaining than making an attack. But when the Carthaginian generals were apprized by their scouts of the approach of the Roman fleet, and considered, that their city was easy to be come at, the commonalty of it not used to war, and the neighboring nations fickle, and apt to waver in their fidelity, they determined to meet it, resolved to run all hazards rather than allow them a free passage into Africa.

CHAP.

V.



THEREFORE they exhorted their troops in a short speech, "to remember that they were not only to fight for themselves, but for all who were most dear to them in their own country, and therefore they ought to engage with the greatest cheerfulness and resolution." Then they embarked, and sailed out of the harbor with the greatest confidence both in their seamen and soldiers. The Roman fleet was not far off, and they engaged near Heraclea with equal vigor. The Carthaginian generals had agreed between themselves, that Hanno, the same who fought with bad success at Agrigentum, should command the right wing, and Hamilcar the rest. And having observed the fourfold disposition of the Roman fleet, they likewise divided theirs. Those which formed the left wing of their whole fleet drew up in a curve line nearest the shore; the rest were extended in straight lines with their prows turned towards the enemy. Their right wing, which was composed of their swiftest galleys and quinquiremes, Hanno had extended as far as he prudently could towards the main sea, in order to surround the enemy, in case the battle should begin in any other place.

THE



THE consuls without delay charged the center of the Carthaginian line with two of their squadrons. In order to break the order of the Roman battle, Hamilcar had ordered his men to retreat the moment the battle begun. When they executed this command, the Romans eagerly pursued them as they retired, though they could do them no harm by reason of the swiftness of their ships. Yet this pursuit, as Hamilcar had foreseen and wished, separated the two first Roman squadrons from the third and fourth, which did not move from their first station. When the Carthaginian saw this, he hoisted a signal on board his own ship, for those who were retreating to tack and attack their pursuers. As the Carthaginians had the advantage in the swiftness of their vessels, and their skill and address in working them, and the Romans in the vigor of their troops, the battle was doubtful for a long time. And as long as the ships and not the soldiers fought together, the Carthaginians without dispute had the better of it; but when the vessels begun to grapple and come to close fight by letting fall their crews, victory certainly declared for the Romans, whose soldiers relying solely on their strength and fighting in presence of their consuls, ardently strove to gain their approbation of their bravery.

CHAP.  
VI.

WHILE matters went thus in this part of the battle, Hanno with the right wing, which had not yet moved stood in from the sea, attacked the triarii, and hemmed them so close in, that he put them into the greatest disorder. Almost at the same time the Carthaginian left wing changed their former disposition, drew up in one straight front, and run with their stems full tilt upon the Roman third squadron, which had the transports in tow. The Romans let go the ropes and prepared themselves to fight. And here too was a very warm battle. Thus there were three sea engagements in three different places, and at a good distance from one another. When by this means the victory was long doubtful,

CHAP.  
VII.



at length it happened, as is usual where men fight in different places with equal advantage, that that party which is first beat, gives the enemy an opportunity of getting a complete victory over all the rest. For as Hamilcar was not able to make any longer resistance, his flight immediately occasioned the rout of the other Carthaginian squadron.

CHAP.  
VIII.

WHILST Manlius was employed in securing the enemy's ships which he had taken, and making them fast to his own, Regulus seeing his men engaged in another, flew to their assistance with as many ships of his second squadron as were whole, and had escaped without damage from their former attack. The triarii were soon sensible of this succor, took heart again, after they had almost despaired by reason of the extreme danger they were in, and begun to charge the enemy with vigor. When Hanno perceived that they made a bolder defence, and that he was pressed in the rear, he crowded all his sail, stood out to sea, and endeavored to escape this imminent danger. In the mean time L. Manlius, observing the third Roman squadron driven in towards the shore by the left wing of the Carthaginians, bent his course thither. Regulus likewise, who had secured the triarii and transports, came up. This quite changed the face of the battle, and those who a little before had surrounded the Romans were inclosed and hemmed in themselves. For this third squadron of the Romans had been so close environed, and as it were besieged, that long before that they had certainly been destroyed had not the Carthaginians, by being afraid to come near them for fear of the crows, given the consuls time to bring off their own squadron safe, and, by suddenly surrounding the Carthaginians, to take fifty of their ships with their crews, as it were in a toil; the remainder, which was very small, sheered off to the shore and fled.

CHAP.  
IX.

THIS battle, both for variety of accidents, the obstinacy with which it was fought, and also for the number of ships lost on both sides, is scarce to be



paralleled. Sixty three Carthaginian ships were taken and upward of thirty sunk; the conquerors had twenty four sunk, but none taken by the enemy. After this victory they returned to Messina, where they spent a few days in refreshing their troops, refitting and victualling their ships. During which time Hamilcar, who was extremely desirous to prevent the Romans from passing into Africa, as he could not stop them by force and arms, had recourse to stratagem. He sent Hanno to the consuls under pretext of suing for peace, thinking thereby to gain time, till the reinforcements which he expected should be sent him from Carthage, should arrive.

WHEN Hanno was come to the consuls, and heard several about them audibly crying out, “that they ought to treat him in the same manner as the Carthaginians had done the consul Cn. Cornelius Asina five years before,” he eluded the danger by a cunning answer. “For, says he, if you do this, you wont be one whit better than the Africans.” The consuls immediately understood what was said, and silenced those who had said “he ought to be put in irons.” Then they addressed themselves to Hanno in a short speech suitable to the Roman gravity; “be not afraid, the faith of Rome secures you from danger.” As the Carthaginian was not in earnest, and the consuls desired conquest rather than peace, it was to no purpose proposed. Wherefore they did not think proper to delay their expedition into Africa any longer. Neither did the Carthaginian generals oppose them, though they had agreed between themselves, from different quarters, to harass and stop them in their voyage. But Hanno hastened away before to fortify Carthage, while Hamilcar, who durst not stir, staid at Heraclea. Thus the Roman fleet were neither harassed by enemies nor storms in their passage.

YET there were not wanting some among them who were terrified at this long voyage, an enemy's coast, and even at the name of Africa. Mannius, a legionary



CHAP. XI. legionary tribune, distinguished himself above the rest in refusing to obey orders. But Regulus was so enraged against him, that he threatened to scourge and behead him if he did not. By this means the consul made himself be obey'd, and the prevalent apprehension of present death got the better of their fears of the sea. The foremost of the Roman fleet came first to an anchor on the African coast, at a promontory called Hermæum<sup>a</sup>, which from the bay of Carthage juts a great way into the Sicilian sea. They waited some time there till the whole fleet should come up, and then the consuls steered along the coast of Africa to the city of Clypea<sup>b</sup>. There they disembarked the legions, laid up their ships in the harbor, and the better to secure themselves drew a ditch and rampart round them. As the city refused to surrender it was besieged. But immediately it was either surrendered or quitted by the affrighted inhabitants, for both are on record, and the Romans got possession of it.

CHAP. XII. **THOUGH** the Carthaginians labored under great and unusual hardships, yet they were exceedingly rejoiced, that matters had fallen out better than they had apprehended. For when they heard of the issue of the battle at sea, they were afraid the victorious troops would immediately advance to Carthage itself. Wherefore recovering a little from their former consternation, they diligently applied themselves to levying forces, and fortifying their town and suburbs. In the mean time the consuls dispatched couriers to Rome, with advices of what they had already done, and to receive the orders of the fathers concerning the future operations of the war. However they fortified Clypea, and made it their head quarters. And after placing a sufficient garison in it, to defend it and the adjacent lands, they went with all

<sup>a</sup> The promontory of Mercury, now called Good Cape.

<sup>b</sup> The Greeks call it Aspis, the Latines Clypea or Clupea, because it stood on a hill, which was in form

like a buckler. It stood beyond the abovementioned promontory, toward the southern coast, which now belongs to the kingdom of Tunis.



the rest of their troops farther in the country, and laid waste that province, which was extremely fertile, as it had not seen the sword of an enemy since the days of Agathocles. They destroyed many considerable villages, carried off a great booty of cattle, besides upwards of two thousand prisoners, without any one's daring to oppose them. They likewise got possession of many towns either by storm or surrendry. In these they found several deserters, and set at liberty a great many Romans, who had been taken prisoners in the former wars. Amongst the latter was Cn. Cornelius, who was a second time elected consul two years after.

CHAP.  
XII.

AMIDST these transactions the couriers, whom the consuls had dispatched to Rome, returned with the senate's orders. "One of the consuls was to stay in Africa with such a part of the army as they should judge necessary to keep there without detriment to the state; and the other to return home with the fleet and the rest of the troops." Accordingly as the winter was approaching, Regulus staid behind with about fifteen thousand foot, five hundred horse, and forty ships. Manlius, having got a safe passage over the Sicilian sea with the rest of the fleet loaded with slaves and booty, carried them all to Rome. I find it recorded, that he brought with him twenty thousand prisoners. A naval triumph was granted to him over the Carthaginians. After that Ser. Fulvius Pætinus Nobilior, whose father and grandfather were both named Marcus and M. Æmilius Paullus, son of Marcus, and grandson of Lucius, were chosen consuls. Sicily and the fleet were assigned them as their provinces. It was not thought proper to recal Regulus, who carried on the war successfully in Africa, in the middle of his victorious career, and he was ordered to prosecute the war there in quality of proconsul.

CHAP.  
XIII.

Ser. Fulv.  
Pætin. No-  
bilior, and  
M. Æmil.  
Paullus,  
consuls.  
Y. of R. 497.  
B. J. C. 255.

NOBODY was so sorry for this decree as he, for whose honor it had been made. Wherefore he wrote to the senate, complaining of it, and among

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XIV.



other reasons for his asking a successor assigned this, “ that an hired servant had taken the opportunity of the death of his tenant,” who cultivated a small farm of seven acres extent, which the proconsul had in the Pupinian<sup>a</sup> tribe, “ and gone off “ with all his laboring instruments. Therefore his “ presence was absolutely necessary, lest by his farm’s “ lying waste, his wife and children should want subsistence.” The senate came to a resolution, “ that “ Regulus’s land should be cultivated at the expence “ of the public, that what he had lost should be supplied anew, and subsistence provided for his wife “ and children.” Such were the morals of these times. But as often as I read or write of such things, I cannot help reflecting with myself, how much the solid praises bestowed on true merit exceed the reward of riches. For the glory of M. Regulus still subsists for many ages after his death ; while the wealth of others perish with their possessors, nay frequently before them.

CHAP.

XV.



IN the mean time the Carthaginians appointed two generals at home, Asdrubal son of Hanno, and Bostar. They sent also for a third, Hamilcar, out of Sicily, who came with all expedition from Heraclea to Carthage with five thousand foot and five hundred horse. These three after consulting together came to this resolution, “ not to keep the troops cooped up within the walls, as had been done hitherto, nor allow the Romans to commit hostilities without opposition.” In consequence of this the army took the field, with ardent desires to come to blows. In the mean time M. Regulus, having reduced all the country near Clypea, had advanced to those parts through which runs the river Bagrada<sup>a</sup>. As he was encamped there an unlooked for disaster befel the army, which did them considerable prejudice, and struck them with

<sup>a</sup> It lay in Latium, on this side the Tiber, near Tusculum, eight miles from Rome between Scaptia and

Pedom, near the Anio and Aqua Crabra.

<sup>a</sup> New Magrida or Megrada, runs between Utica and Carthage.



great terror. For when his soldiers went to fetch water they were attacked by a serpent of enormous bulk, which, while they were in the greatest consternation and resisted in vain, swallowed many of them down his throat, crushed others by the folds and strokes of his tail, and killed some by his envenomed breath. Nay, he gave M. Regulus so much trouble, that he was obliged with his whole army to dispute the possession of the river with him.

CHAP.  
xv.

BUT as this cost him a great many men, without being able either to wound or conquer the serpent, whose hard scales made him invulnerable by every kind of weapon which was thrown at him, he was obliged to have recourse to large machines, and batter this enemy with catapultas and balistas, as if he had been attacking a fortified citadel. After many ineffectual discharges, at length a huge stone broke this formidable monster's back-bone, and thereby deprived him of all strength and means of doing hurt. Yet it was with great difficulty he was entirely killed; for the soldiers were so horribly afraid of him, that they declared, "they would rather chuse to storm Carthage itself, than engage another such monster." Nor could they stay any longer in that camp, for they were obliged to fly from that country which was all round infected with the poisonous stench of the dead carcase, as the waters were with the venom. And here human pride may blush, while it foolishly imagines that nothing can withstand its power. For it is certain that a single serpent when alive engaged a Roman army, victorious both by sea and land, and commanded by the renowned M. Regulus, and when dead obliged them to retire. Wherefore the proconsul was not ashamed to send the spoils of this enemy to Rome, and by erecting a public monument confess the greatness of his fears of this monster, and his joy for his victory over him. For he caused his skin, after being taken off, to be carried to the city. He was one hundred and twen-

CHAP.  
xvi.



ty feet long, and it was hung up in one of the temples, where it continued till the Numantine war<sup>a</sup>.

CHAP. REGULUS, having decamped from Bagrada,  
XVII. marched towards the city of Adis<sup>a</sup>, and stormed and destroyed all the towns and castles that lay in his way. At last he came to Adis itself, which could not be taken so easily; wherefore raising galleries and other engines he formed a regular siege. The Carthaginian generals flew to raise it, and encamped on a little narrow hill, which was full of trees, and overlooked the Roman camp. M. Regulus considered the nature of the ground, and the quality of the enemy's forces; that their foot was in no respect to be compared to his, and their great dependance was on their elephants and cavalry. But as this part of their forces, which would prove formidable in a plain, could not be drawn up or be of any service in so disadvantageous a post, he wisely took advantage of the enemies oversight, and determined, before they could have time to perceive or correct their mistake, to attack their camp. Wherefore having encouraged his men, and taken every other prudent step which military skill could suggest, he decamped before day-break, and marched in order of battle up the back part of the hill, whereon the enemy were lodged.

CHAP. THIS boldness of the Romans, who, though inferior in numbers, from a lower ground attacked superior forces in their entrenchments, was the first thing that terrified the Carthaginians. But soon after their confusion was much greater, when they found their elephants and cavalry, on which they mainly relied, were not only of no use but even disordered and obstructed them. Yea the time of the day increased their consternation, as the Romans had surprized and attacked them, while the major part of them were asleep. For many of them were killed in their beds, and others straggled up and down in

<sup>a</sup> See Pliny the naturalist, book viii.

<sup>a</sup> No traces of it remaining.



great fright, and not knowing which way to go, fell in their flight into ambuscades, which had been laid in their way. Yet the Carthaginian mercenaries, who were Gauls and Spaniards, having quickly formed themselves, fought desperately before the trenches, and rendered the victory for some time doubtful. Yea the first legion fled before them. And the whole Roman army had certainly been repulsed, had not the cohorts, which were ordered to march round from another quarter, seasonably fallen on the rear of the enemy that was pursuing the legions which had given way. This enabled those who had a little before abandoned their posts to rally, and charge again with fresh courage.

CHAP.  
XVIII.


THESE mercenaries, being thus attacked in front and rear, were obliged to give way after they had made a brave defence. As soon as the Carthaginians saw what happened, they immediately poured out of their camp and fled with precipitation. As for the elephants and cavalry, they had a safe and easy retreat as soon as they had got to plain ground. The conquerors, after pursuing the foot a little farther, returned to rifle the camp. In this battle the Carthaginians had seventeen thousand slain, five thousand taken prisoners with eighteen elephants. The issue of this engagement brought over not only the neighboring country, but even very remote nations to side with the Romans, and within the space of a few days, about eighty cities put themselves under their protection. On the back of this the Carthaginians, who were reduced to great straits, were almost totally dispirited upon the news of Regulus's having taken Tunis a fortified city, but twelve miles from Carthage, and as the prospect from thence lay open to that very city and the neighboring sea, they could see every thing that was done.


CHAP.  
XIX.

NEITHER were they only alarmed with fears of the Roman hostilities, but the Numidians likewise, on an old grudge, and some fresh provocation, took up arms, and by laying waste their territories

CHAP.  
XX.



CHAP. <sup>XX.</sup>  stories with fire and sword, struck them with greater consternation, and did them more damage than the Romans did. Nay their peasants flying from all quarters into the city, not only occasioned a terrible alarm, but even a famine. For so great a multitude consumed a great part of their provisions, while some covetous wretches, intending to make gain of the public calamity, and expecting that the scarcity would daily enhance the price of provisions, concealed the stores they had remaining. Hence it came to pass that they with great gladness received the embassy of M. Regulus, who, being desirous of having the honor of terminating the war, and apprehensive, lest a successor should be sent and deprive him of that glory, advised the Carthaginians to conclude a peace. Upon this some of the principal men in Carthage were sent to treat with him. But as he thought he had victory sure in his hand, the conditions he offered seemed so hard, that the deputies returned without concluding any thing.

CHAP. <sup>XXI.</sup>  HIS conditions were, “ that they should give up  
 “ all Sicily and Sardinia, restore all the Roman pri-  
 “ soners without ransom, redeem their own at a  
 “ stated price, defray all the expences of the war,  
 “ and, over and above, pay an annual tribute.”  
 To these he added others no less grievous, “ that  
 “ they should consider as friends and enemies all  
 “ those who were so to the Roman people ; they  
 “ should keep only one ship of war ; and furnish the  
 “ Romans, whenever they required, with fifty gal-  
 “ leys of three benches of oars, completely equipped  
 “ and manned.” The deputies were astonished at these demands, and when “ they entreated him to  
 “ grant less rigorous terms,” he answered, “ you  
 “ must either conquer or submit to the conquerors.”  
 When they brought back this message to the city, the Carthaginians were so enraged, that though they labored under the greatest hardships, they determined to suffer the last extremity rather than accept of conditions, which they looked on as reducing their



their state to absolute captivity and slavery. In this state of their affairs the ships they had sent to levy troops in Greece, returned with a considerable body of mercenaries which they had got together. Amongst them was one Xanthippus a Lacedæmonian, who to his own country discipline, wherein he had been carefully educated from his childhood, had joined great experience in the art military.

CHAP.  
XXI.

AFTER he was informed how matters had been managed till that time, and understood what foot, elephants, and horse the Carthaginians had remaining, he did not hesitate openly to declare, “ that they had been defeated by themselves and not by the Romans, through the incapacity of their generals, who had not known how to employ their strength to advantage.” This speech being soon noised abroad, he was sent for by the magistrates, where he supported his opinion with so convincing reasons, that nothing could be more evident. He shewed, “ that in their marches, pitching of camps, and fields of battle, they used to make choice of the most disadvantageous places ;” promising, “ if they would follow his advice, not only to secure them, but gain them victory.” Both the generals and the other principal men of the city approved of his proposal, and from a laudable modesty preferring the safety of their native country to their reputation, they agreed and consented to give the command of their army to this foreigner. When he had received this power, he led out the troops every day, and exercised them in the field, teaching them to keep and change their ranks, and accustomed them to obey their officers orders readily. The soldiers, comparing this discipline with their former, were quite astonished at themselves, and became confident of better success for the future. And the hopes of the state, that had been reduced to despair, were revived with the prospect of future victory.

CHAP.  
XXII.

WHEN the Carthaginian generals observed this alacrity of their troops, their own courage revived,

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XXIII.



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XXIII.

and they resolved to lead them once more against the enemy. And having encouraged the soldiers by exhortations suitable to their present circumstances, they marched against the Romans with an army of twelve thousand foot, four thousand horse and very near a hundred elephants. Nothing provoked the Romans, but to see the Carthaginians, contrary to their former method, avoiding the eminences and hilly places, and marching along the plains; yet their continual success had rendered them so haughty, that they despised an enemy which they had so often defeated, and the paultry Greek who commanded them. Nay the flattering smiles of fortune had even infected Regulus with pride. And therefore reflecting that he had defeated the Carthaginians by sea and land, taken near two hundred cities and two hundred thousand prisoners, and might be able to force the city of Carthage, which labored under various distresses, to surrender, he refused them tolerable conditions when they sued for peace, and wrote to Rome, “that he kept the gates of Carthage as it “were seal’d up for fear.” Thus moderation as often leaves great minds in prosperity, as constancy does in adversity.

CHAP.  
XXIV.

WHILE the Carthaginians were encamped in a plain, M. Regulus, whose main strength consisted in his foot, for which reason he ought to have kept on eminences and hilly ground; thinking every place indifferent for brave men to fight in, was not afraid to venture into the plains. And to give a greater proof of his confidence, passed a river which run between the two armies and advanced within twelve hundred paces of the enemy. When Xanthippus, perceived the imprudence of the Roman general, he declared “the time was now come wherein he would “make good his word to the Carthaginians.” For having got the Romans, fatigued with their march, in such a place as he desired, he did not doubt but he should defeat them. He likewise thought the time of the day very seasonable to attack them. For



as it was already drawing towards night, the Africans, who were acquainted with the country, could escape more easily in the dark, in case they should be beaten; and if they should conquer, it would not hinder them from prosecuting their victory. Therefore when the Carthaginians were deliberating what they should do, he entreated them, “by the faith they had in Gods and men, not to let so glorious an opportunity slip;” and persuaded them to begin the attack. They consented the more readily, as the troops calling Xanthippus by name, with cheerful ardor demanded of themselves to be led to battle.

CHAP.

XXIV.

WHEREFORE the chief command being given to this Spartan, he marched out and drew up his troops in the following manner. The phalanx, composed wholly of Carthaginians, and consisting of the main strength of their foot, he placed in the rear. And leaving a convenient space between he covered them with the elephants, drawn up in the front in one line parallel to the breadth of the phalanx. He formed the two wings of the light armed troops and the cavalry, and posted the heavy armed mercenaries behind them on the right. When the army was thus formed he ordered the light-armed, after throwing their darts, to fall back into the ranks of their own division, which were to open on purpose to receive them, and while the enemy were engaged with the heavy armed to sally out from the two wings, and suddenly charge the Romans in flank, while they were fighting with the phalanx. Regulus, having formed his troops after his usual manner, when he spied the elephants drawn up in the front of the Carthaginians battle, he altered the disposition of his own troops: he brought all his light armed men to the front, posted his legions in more ranks in the rear and his horse on the wings. By this means his army was drawn up more closely and with more depth, but much less front than ordinary.

CHAP.

XXV.

THUS as the greatest danger was to be apprehended from the enemy's elephants and cavalry, this

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CHAP. this was certainly a wise precaution which he took to  
 XXVI. prevent the elephants from breaking in upon his ranks. But as the field of battle was in a plain, he thereby left too great a space for their horse to come and surround his main body which was drawn up so close. Xanthippus having commanded the elephants to move forwards against the enemy they begun the attack; and the Romans advanced with great cries and beating of their arms. The cavalry of each army likewise engaged on the wings. But the Roman horse, being much inferior in number, were not able to sustain the enemy's charge and soon fled. Yet the Roman infantry on the left, either to avoid the shock of the elephants, or thinking to gain an easier victory over the mercenaries furiously charged that corps, routed and pursued them even to their very camp.

CHAP. BUT the rest had a much warmer conflict with  
 XXVII. the elephants, which by their enormous weight broke their rank, trod down the armed men, and crushed whole squadrons to death at once. But in effect of it's depth the main body for some time sustained their attack, one rank still supporting another, till it came to be hard put to it on all quarters; for those in the rear were surrounded by the enemy's horse, while such of the front ranks, as had broke through the line of elephants, were received by their phalanx, which was whole and in good order, and flanked on both sides by the light horse-men, who cut them all to pieces. Neither was there less slaughter made of the Romans in the flight. For the elephants and light horse-men being detached after them mowed them down in that plain champain country. M. Regulus himself with almost five hundred men fell alive into the enemy's hands. And of the whole army no more than two thousand who had driven the mercenaries from their ground, by a precipitate march escaped contrary to all expectation to Clypea. About thirty thousand of the Romans and their allies were killed. The Carthaginian army sustained very little loss excepting the slaughter



slaughter of two hundred of the squadron of mercenaries, which engaged with the left wing of the Romans.

AFTER so great an atchievement, as the army CHAP.  
XXVIII. was returning to Carthage with the spoils of the slain, and triumphing over the captive Roman general, the whole inhabitants came out in crowds to meet them, and some in the streets and others from their windows with incredible delight beheld a sight, which a little while before they had not so much as courage to wish for. Nay their minds were scarce either able to bear the transport, or credit the reality of so great a victory. For as they had lately been reduced to the brink of despair, and were afraid of losing not only their country, but their very city, temples and houses, they durst scarce believe so great revolution had happened though they saw it. But the thoughts of all were in particular engaged about the generals. They sometimes surveyed Xanthippus and sometimes Regulus, and the value and esteem they had for their own general was proportioned to their opinion of the merit of the Roman. For they reasoned thus:  
 “ How great a man must he be esteemed, who has  
 “ so easily and so speedily deprived a most able gene-  
 “ ral, fortunate warrior, haughty conqueror, implaca-  
 “ ble enemy, the terror and scourge of Carthage,  
 “ of a very fine army, the greatest renown, and last  
 “ of all of his liberty!”

THE appearance of the Greek increased their ad- CHAP.  
XXIX. miration; for they could not imagine, how so great talents could be concealed in so mean a stature and ordinary an aspect. But after all, the odium which he drew on himself by this glorious action was no less than the honor he got by it. Yet he used as much prudence to avoid the stings of this monstrous passion, as he had done in managing the war: and although Carthage owed him a perpetual reward for the services he did her, yet he resolved to relinquish all uncertain hopes and a state replete with dangers, and return home, before any alteration happened in the people's esteem or his own fortune. For com-  
 monly



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XXIX.

monly such is the temper of mankind, that they have always the love of their country in their mouth, and their own private interest at heart. Therefore as long as they can acquire and enjoy honors and riches while the state flourishes, they pretend the most ardent affection for it. But where there is the least prospect of honors and wealth being bestowed upon others in reward of their distinguished merit and eminent services, they wish rather that the public should be deprived of those who study her interest, than that there should be any to obstruct their own.

CHAP.  
XXX.

WHILE they have hopes to equal others, their envy is neither so great nor so open; but when they are left far behind and upon a near comparison see themselves eclipsed, and that wealth and those honorable offices possessed by others, which they themselves coveted, then it is they endeavor, by detraction and calumny of their betters, to obtain, what they despaired of attaining by fair practices. Hence it comes to pass that the best men have always the most enemies, and the greatest number of snares laid for them. Yet a man in his own country is protected against these dangers by his relations and friends. But a stranger is destitute of this protection, and even the easiness of hurting him sharpens the malice of those ungenerous wretches, because being exposed to the snares of intriguing men, he may be ruined with little trouble and injured without danger. And the sequel sufficiently testifies that Xanthippus had wisely foreseen these things. For it is said, “that the Carthaginians, after the signal service he had done them, hated and could not endure him, and, from a fond belief that his death would raze out the memory of their state’s being preserved by the bravery of a stranger, caused him to be drowned by those whom they sent to conduct him in his passage home<sup>a</sup>.”

CHAP.  
XXXI.

OTHERS give a different account of the fate of Xanthippus, but still, “accuse the Carthaginians of

<sup>a</sup> Appian. de bel. Punic. p. 3.

“treachery.



“treachery. At his departure they gave him an old CHAP.  
 “leaky vessel, but lately calked to make her appear XXXI.  
 “strong. But as it was not easy to deceive him,  
 “when he perceived the fraud, he slyly went on  
 “board another vessel, and eluded the danger<sup>a</sup>.”

About the same time, it is said, this same people perpetrated an action no less perfidious, but much more cruel: For when the mercenaries somewhat too tumultuously demanded their pay for the great services they had done them, they embarked them on board of transports, under promise of their being paid what they demanded at another place. But the commanders of the ships, who had private orders to do so, having put ashore and left them on a desert island, as they were destitute of all human relief, without ships and provisions, they could neither stay for hunger, nor go away for the sea, and died a most miserable and horrid death.

I FIND other authors refer this barbarous action CHAP.  
 to former times, when they were at war with the Sy- XXXII.  
 racusans, and that this island ever after bore the infamous name of Oistodes, or island of bones. It lies in the main ocean at the back of Lipari to the westward. But at whatever period, or in whatever manner those horrid actions were committed, it is certain they are very agreeable to the barbarity of the Carthaginians in other instances. Neither need it be wondered at, that a people, who behaved so to their allies and auxiliaries, should behave themselves with greater inclemency towards their enemies. For although they really treated the other prisoners tolerably, because they knew the Romans had many of theirs whom they desired to exchange;

YET they could neither conceal nor moderate CHAP.  
 their resentment against M. Regulus, and took every XXXIII.  
 method to vex and torture him. It is true they gave  
 him victuals, but not such as were either pleasant to the palate or nourishing to the body, and affording only the most slender aliment, served only to keep in the life of this unhappy man in order to prolong

<sup>a</sup> Zonar. b. 3. chap. 13.



CHAP. his miseries. But his bitterest potions were their per-  
 XXXIII. petual reproaches, in midst of which they very fre-  
 quently used to bring an elephant, whose braying terrified, and monstrous shape gave him so much pain, that he had no ease either in body or mind. When by this means he was extremely disquieted and reduced to a skeleton, they at last threw him into the common jail. When the news of what had happened reached Rome, it threw the state into the greatest sorrow and consternation. For they were afraid that the Carthaginians, exasperated at the bitterness of what they had suffered, and flushed with their victory, would desire to pay their enemies home in their own coin, and even venture to make Rome feel the same calamities which Carthage had suffered.

CHAP. WHEREFORE the senate ordered the consuls,  
 XXXIV. “ to take all possible care for the defence of Italy;  
 “ to go themselves with as great a fleet as possible  
 “ into Sicily, and from thence if they thought it ne-  
 “ cessary into Africa, and by carrying the terror of  
 “ the war nearer home keep the Carthaginians from  
 “ coming into Italy.” The Carthaginians first care was to recover their towns which the Romans still possessed, to punish the Africans who had revolted to the enemy, and reduce to subjection such as persisted in their rebellion. But the Romans at Clypea made a brave defence. In Numidia and other places of Africa, the war was indeed important, but the conquest easy. At the same time when they got advice, that a strong fleet was fitting out in Italy, they quitted the siege of Utica, in which they were then employed, and begun to refit their old vessels, build new, and diligently make all preparations necessary for hindering the Romans from landing on the coast of Africa. But the consuls were so incredibly diligent, that in the beginning of summer they had a fleet of three hundred and fifty sail completely fitted and man’d. With it they set sail for Sicily, and when they found no disturbance and every thing quiet there,



excepting that their allies in alarm and consternation, they left garisons where they were most wanted, and immediately set out for Africa with the rest of the army.

BUT being driven by a storm to Cossura<sup>a</sup>, an island lying between Sicily and Africa over against the promontory of Lilybæum, they laid waste the country, and having taken the capital, called by the same name as the island, put a garison into it. From thence they steered their course to the promontory of Hermæum, situated in the midway between Clypea and Carthage, and making one point of the bay of the latter. As the Carthaginian fleet met them here, the fleets fought a smart battle, and the Romans came from Clypea in the critical minute, when neither side had the advantage, to assist and gain the victory to their own nation. The Carthaginians had one hundred and four ships sunk, thirty taken, and fifteen thousand men lost. The Romans lost eleven hundred men and nine ships. Then they went to Utica, where they disembarked their troops which encamped near the city. Thither came the Carthaginian army under the command of the two Hannos. And here they likewise fought a battle at land, wherein the Carthaginians were defeated with the loss of about nine thousand men.

AMONG the prisoners were several noblemen, who were carefully kept by the consuls, in order to exchange them for Regulus, and others, who had undergone the same fate that he had done. Then they held a council on the present posture of affairs, in great hopes that they would be able to maintain the footing they had got in Africa. But as the country round about was laid waste, they were afraid of a famine, and therefore resolved to carry off the garison from Clypea, and return to Sicily. At the same time they carried off a vast booty, which had been laid up in Clypea during the success of M. Re-

CHAP.

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xxxvi.

<sup>a</sup> It is 1,000 geometrical paces in circumference, and is now called Pantalera.



gulus, and had been much increased by their late victories. They had a safe voyage into Sicily, and the consuls would have been even too fortunate, had they known when to set bounds to their conquests.

CHAP.

XXXVII.



BUT they thought they would take the opportunity of their return to Sicily, to reduce some maritime towns there. The pilots in vain remonstrated, “that as it was between the rising of orion<sup>a</sup> and the dog-star, a season always dangerous to sailors, they would not venture to sail along the shore opposite to Africa, which was very dangerous and void of harbors to retire to.” And they suffered so much by a storm, that an instance of so remarkable a wreck is hardly to be found in story. Nay at last out of three hundred and sixty four ships scarcely eighty, which had thrown their lading over board, could be saved. An equal number of transports and vessels of another make were wrecked. So that from the coast of Camarina<sup>b</sup>, where the storm surprized the fleet, as far as the cape Pachynus the shore was full of the dead carcases of men and beasts, and broken planks of ships. The goodness of king Hiero was a great consolation to them in this sad disaster and affliction. He received them courteously, supplied them with clothes, provisions, and tackling for their ships, and convoyed them as far as Messina.

CHAP.

XXXVIII.



BUT the Carthaginians made a speedy improvement of this calamity and recovered the town and island of Cossura. Then passing over without delay into Sicily, they formed the siege of Agrigentum under their general Carthalo, and as it was not relieved, they took and razed it. Many men were killed and many taken prisoners at the sack of this city. The

<sup>a</sup> The risings and setting of stars must be explained by their distance from or approaches to the sun. They are of three sorts, the cosmical, acronical and heliacal. The first is when a star rises and sets with the sun. The second when it rises above the horizon when the sun sets, and sets when he rises. The third is a star's

first appearance after emerging out of the rays of the sun, and it's setting is when it is in conjunction with the sun. At that time orion rose after the solstice about the end of june, and the dog-star about the beginning of august.

<sup>b</sup> On the southern coast of Sicily, now called Torre di Camara.



rest, who fled through the inland country into the territories of Syracuse, seated themselves in a village near the temple<sup>a</sup> of Jupiter Olympius<sup>b</sup>. Nay the Carthaginians had great hopes of recovering the whole island; but the news that the Romans were fitting out a great fleet, gave the allies courage and allayed their present fears. For the consuls were so active, and used such incredible expedition, that in three months time they had built one hundred and twenty new vessels. The new consuls, Cn. Cornelius Afina Scipio, son of Lucius and grandson of Caius, and A. Atilius Calatinus, son of Aulus and grandson of Caius, whose second consulate this was, were ordered to embark a strong army, which had been lately levied, and with all expedition put to sea.

Cn. Cornel.  
Afina Scipio  
and A. Atil.  
Calatinus  
consuls.  
Y. of R. 498.  
B. J. C. 254.

THIS Cornelius is a remarkable instance of the fickleness of fortune, and may be an useful example to teach men to suffer adversity with patience. For seven years before<sup>a</sup> he had been surrounded by an ambuscade of the Carthaginians, taken prisoner, loaded with irons, shut up in a prison, and undergone the most terrible miseries that human nature could suffer; and now received again not only the other ornaments of his dignity, but even the highest honor, the consulate itself and the fasces, which he had been deprived of against his will, with a joy proportioned to the bitter grief that afflicted him when he lost them. The consuls having passed over to Messina, and taken with them what ships they found had weathered the late storm, came to the mouth of the river Himera<sup>b</sup>, and by means of some of the inhabitants, who betrayed it, took Cephalædis<sup>c</sup> which lyes on the same coast eighteen miles from it. They de-

<sup>a</sup> 120 foot high, 360 long and 60 broad. See a beautiful description of it, Diod. Sicul. hist. book 13.  
<sup>b</sup> Sir Is. Newton makes him Minos, who reign'd in Crete, 1015 years before Christ. He was called Olympius from Olympia, on the borders of Pisa.

chron. p. 16, 149, 151, 157.  
<sup>a</sup> See book xvii. c. iv. p. 331.  
<sup>b</sup> It runs towards the north, and is now called *Fiume Grande*, or *Il Fiume di Termini*.  
<sup>c</sup> On the north coast of Sicily. It is now called *Cephala*.



parted, disappointed of their designs, from Drepanum<sup>a</sup>, whither they had gone, as they saw they could not soon make themselves masters of the place, and Carthalo had come with a re-inforcement to it, while they were deliberating about it.

CHAP.

XL.

THIS disappointment did not discourage them from other enterprizes, and they performed a more important one with better success. For they went directly to Panormus<sup>a</sup> the principal city in subjection to the Carthaginians. Having seized the harbor they landed under the very walls of the town, and when the inhabitants refused to surrender, determined to surround it with a rampart and fossée. The nature of the country advanced the work, for it afforded plenty of trees. As by this means their works were soon finished, they pushed on the siege with vigor, and by the help of their machines beat down a tower situated on the side next the sea. The soldiers entered the breach, and after a great slaughter of the inhabitants took the outer town which is called the new. Neither did the old town hold out long. For the multitude of people that had fled thither, carried more terror than provision into it, and the inhabitants, dejected with the thoughts of their danger, seeing famine fast approaching, soon sent deputies to the consuls to surrender every thing except their lives and liberty. The consuls, knowing the besieged were reduced to extremities, would not accept the offer, unless they ransomed themselves at a stated price. They agreed to pay two minæ<sup>b</sup> per head. Fourteen thousand were ransom'd. The remaining multitude, near thirteen thousand, were sold with the rest of the booty.

CHAP.

XLI.

THIS was a glorious exploit, and followed by great and sudden advantages. For many towns on that coast, and also several remote ones, drove out the Carthaginian garisons, and embraced the alliance of the Romans. The Jetini were the first who set

<sup>a</sup> See below book xix. chap. xvii. is now called Palermo.

<sup>a</sup> The capital of Sicily. It stands on the north coast of the island, and <sup>b</sup> About 5 pounds.



the example which was immediately followed by the Soluntini, Petrini, Tyndaridans, and others. After these exploits, the consuls, having left a garison in Panormus, returned to Messina, and from thence to Rome. The Carthaginians intercepted them in their passage, and took from them some transports, and the money that was on board them. After this two triumphs were seen together at Rome. The consuls of the former year, whose command had been continued to them, had each of them a naval triumph over the Cossurans and Carthaginians. Serv. Fulvius triumphed first on the nineteenth of february, and M. Æmilius the next day. This year, which is reckoned the five hundredth from the foundation of the city, an expedition was made into Africa, but without any success or advantage. The consuls Cn. Servilius Cæpio, whose father and grandfather were both named Cneius, and C. Sempronius Blæsus, whose father and grandfather were both named Ti. passed over into Sicily, whence, after having made a fruitless attempt upon Lilybæum, they steered their course for Africa, with a fleet of two hundred and sixty sail.

CHAP.

XLi.

Cn. Serv.  
Cæpio and  
C. Semp.  
Blæsus  
consuls.  
Y. of R. 499.  
B. J. C. 253.

WHILE they cruised upon the African coasts, and made descents in several places, they took many towns and great booty. Yet they performed no greater exploits, because the Carthaginians, having recovered all the places which Regulus had taken, and punished those which had revolted, and being thereby less embarrassed and more emboldned, met them every where and hindered them from taking any very advantageous post. For Hamilcar overran all Numidia and Mauritania, reduced that whole country, and by way of satisfaction, laid upon them a fine of a thousand talents of silver<sup>a</sup> and twenty thousand oxen. He punished the principal persons of the cities, who were accused of favoring the Romans, and hang'd three thousand of them on gibbets. But the attacks of the enemy were not so formidable to the Roman fleet, as their ignorance of the

CHAP.

XLII.

<sup>a</sup> About 50000 pound.



coast, and the shelves that lay hid under water. For being driven to Meninx, the island of the Lotophagi<sup>b</sup>, in the neighborhood of the lesser Syrtes<sup>c</sup>, the fleet run aground at ebb upon the shelves. After they had thrown their lading over-board, and were afraid of being utterly lost, the flood brought them off contrary to their expectations.

CHAP.  
XLIII.

AFTER they had escaped this imminent disaster, not without great loss, as they were still terrified at the place where they had suffered so much, they immediately set sail, as if they had been flying before an enemy. But they little knew that as great a danger, as what they avoided, awaited them where they were going. However, they had a prosperous voyage as far as Palermo. But as they were sailing from thence to Italy, when they doubled cape Palinurus, which projects far into the sea from the Lucanian mountains, a violent storm arose and sunk above a hundred and sixty ships of war, with many transports and storeships. The state was extremely afflicted at so many successive losses of this kind; and since even the winds and waves seemed to oppose their obtaining the sovereignty of the sea, the fathers resolved, that no more than sixty sail should be in commission to guard the coasts of Italy, and carry stores to the army in Sicily. But notwithstanding this disaster, one of the consuls C. Sempronius triumphed over the Carthaginians on the

<sup>b</sup> The Lotophagi formerly inhabited this island, which from them was called Lotophagitis. Ptolemy says, there were two cities in it, Meninx and Gerra, or Thoar, according to Pliny; who places the island two hundred geometrical paces east of the little Syrtis; and makes it 25 miles long, and 22 broad. It abounded with the trees called Lotos, whence the inhabitants of the island were called Lotophagi, i. e. Lotos-eaters. This tree was about the size of a pear-tree, and its leaves like those of the holm-oak. Its fruit is said to have been so agreeable to the taste, that strangers, who once tasted of it, immediately forgot their own country, and settled in this de-

licious place.

<sup>c</sup> The name of Syrtes was formerly given to two gulphs in the Mediterranean sea, between the kingdoms of Tunis and Barca. They were so called, because the ships that were drawn into them by the currents, were generally run aground there, or lost in the whirl-pools. The great Syrtis is a very dangerous gulph, on account of the flats, or banks of sand, which are about this coast. It lies between Cyrenaica, and the territory of Tripoli. The Italians call it, Golfo di Sidra, and the Spaniards, Baxos di Barberia, or the flats of Barbary. The little Syrtis lies between Tunis and Tripoli, and is vulgarly called the gulph of Gabes.



first of April, ten days after the proconsul Cn. Cornelius had triumphed over the same nation.

THIS year there were censors at Rome ; but as L. Posthumus, whose father and grandfather both bore the same name, who was likewise prætor, died in that office, his colleague D. Junius Pera, whose father and grandfather were both of the same name, resigned. But the following summer, the consuls C. Aurelius Cotta, son of Lucius and grandson of Caius, and P. Servilius Geminus, son of Caius and grandson of Cneius, went into Sicily. Among other towns, they took Himera, so called from the river on which it lyes ; but they found in it no inhabitants, for the Carthaginians had carried them off by night. Yet they were pleased with the possession of this important place, because hereby was wiped off the disgrace, which the Romans had lately received at that city of Thermæ, for that was likewise it's name, by the avarice of some soldiers, who lost it to them just when they were on the point of becoming masters of it. For a certain prisoner, who stood sentry at one of the gates undertook, if they would give him his liberty, to betray the town. On this condition he was dismissed, and at the appointed hour opened a gate to some soldiers who had been sent to seize the city. When the chief of this detachment were got in, through covetousness to engross the best part of the booty to themselves, they ordered the gates to be shut “ and “ no more of their own men to be admitted.” As soon as this was done, the inhabitants, alarmed by the noise, ran to arms ; and as the Roman soldiers were overpowered, and could receive no relief from those they had shut out, they suffered for their folly, and were cut off to a man.

WHEN Thermæ Himerensis was reduced, the consul, C. Aurelius, determined to besiege Lipara, which had been several times attempted in vain by other generals. Wherefore he drew out a numerous party of the best Roman troops, that were in

CHAP.

XLIV.

C. Aurelius  
Cotta and P.  
S. Geminus  
consuls.Y. of R. 500.  
B. J. C. 252.

CHAP.

XLV.



CHAP.

XLV.



all Sicily, and transported them into the island of Lipari, in vessels which he got from Hiero. But being obliged to return to Messina to renew the auspices, he gave the command of the siege to his kinsman P. Aurelius Pecuniola, or, according to some historians, to Q. Cassius a legionary tribune, with orders carefully to defend the works, and not to make an attack upon the place. Yet this young officer, imagining if he could take Lipara in the absence of the consul, it would redound much to his own honor, assaulted the town contrary to his orders. His rashness was sufficiently punished. For he was not able to carry it, and as the enemy made a sally upon him in his retreat, cut off abundance of his men, and burnt down a mount, he had difficulty to defend his own lines. But when C. Aurelius returned fortune changed sides; for he took the town and put many of the inhabitants to the sword. Then he punished the legionary tribune. He degraded him, scourged him with rods, and obliged him to serve in the lowest rank of the foot. This was a remarkable instance of the strictness of military discipline kept up by Aurelius, who, in the same consulate, set several other examples of the same kind.

CHAP.

XLVI.



WHEN Lipara was taken, the descendants of Timasitheus, who had formerly been præfect of that place, were exempted from all tributes and taxes. Such was the gratitude of the Roman people, that they would not suffer even time itself to efface the memory of a signal service done them long before<sup>a</sup>. For when the Liparenfian pirates had taken a golden cup, which they had sent in a present to Apollo at Delphos, Timasitheus caused both the present, and the deputies who were carrying it, to be convoy'd to Delphos, and from thence reconducted safe to Rome. Then the Romans formed the siege of the strong castle of Ereta<sup>b</sup>, with forty thousand foot

<sup>a</sup> See vol. ii. book v. ch. xxxviii. p. 100, 101.

<sup>b</sup> Situated on a steep mountain of

the same name, now called Monte Pelegrino. See Diod. Sicul. b. 22.



and a thousand horse. But they were neither able to carry it, nor durst they fight the Carthaginians. For ever since the defeat of M. Regulus, the Roman legions were so afraid of the elephants, that they declined hazarding a battle. And though they had often faced the enemy in order of battle, sometimes within six hundred paces, both in the country of Lilybæum and Selinuns, yet they did not charge with their wonted ardor, and thinking it by no means safe to come down into the plains, kept upon high and inaccessible ground.

CHAP.  
XLVI.

THIS greatly revived the spirits of the Carthaginians. For as they could now rely on their land army, and imagined the Romans had suffered more by wrecks at sea, than they themselves had done by defeats, they were at the same time informed of the senate's decree for laying aside the fleet, which encouraged them to hope they should be able to recover Sicily, if re-inforcements at sea and land should be sent thither. But they were in extreme want of money. For this long and expensive war had consumed all the treasures they had formerly laid up, and all they could now raise by daily taxes. Wherefore they sent ambassadors to Ptolemy king of Egypt, with whom they were in alliance, to desire him to lend them two thousand talents<sup>a</sup>. This king, being unwilling to offend the Romans, with whom he was in amity and alliance likewise, offered to mediate a peace, and reconcile the two contending states. But as his endeavors proved ineffectual, he refused the Carthaginians demand, saying, "he thought that allies ought only to be assisted against enemies, but not against other allies." About the same time Tib. Coruncanius was chosen high-priest, the first plebeian who had been raised to that dignity.


CHAP.  
XLVII.


THE new censors, M. Valerius, whose father and grandfather were both called Maximus, and P. Sempronius Sophus, whose father and grandfather had both the prænomen of Publius, this year com-

CHAP.  
XLVIII.

<sup>a</sup> About 387500 l. sterling, according to Arbuthnot.



CHAP. XLVIII.  pleted the lustrum, which could not be done the year before, because one of the cenfors had died and the other abdicated. This was the thirty-seventh lustrum, and the number of citizens enrolled amounted to two hundred ninety-seven thousand seven hundred and ninety-seven. It was a rigorous and severe cenforship. For thirteen senators were degraded, and the horses furnished at the public expence, were taken from four hundred young knights. This latter disgrace was owing to a complaint of the consul C. Aurelius, who accused them before the cenfors, “for having refused when ordered to assist “at the works on a pressing occasion in Sicily.” But not content with this punishment of their contempt of discipline, he likewise obtained an act of senate, that their arrears should not be paid them. And I am of opinion, that he obtained a triumph, as much on account of his having rigorously kept up military discipline, as for his atchievements in war. He triumphed over the Carthaginians and Sicilians on the seventh of April.

CHAP. XLIX.  THERE was more appearance of war, than real action next year. For after both states had made great preparations their mutual fears restrained them, and the summer past without blows. The new consuls L. Cæcilius Metellus, son of Lucius and grandson of Caius, and C. Furius Pacilus, whose father and grandfather had both the prænomen of Caius, transported the legions into Sicily. But they did not greatly annoy the enemy, nor the enemy them, although a new Carthaginian general, Asdrubal, had lately arrived there with a fleet of two hundred sail, a hundred and forty elephants, and twenty thousand horse and foot. This obliged the senate again to think of equipping a fleet. For they saw very clearly, that by protracting the war they would exhaust their treasures, their legions were much dispirited ever since the defeat of M. Regulus, and though they were very successful at land, yet they could not keep the Carthaginians out of Sicily, till they were sovereigns at sea. Wherefore they resolved to resume their

L. Cæcilius  
Metellus  
and C. Fur.  
Pacilus  
consuls.  
Y. of R. 501.  
B. J. C. 251.



their former plan, and in confidence of succeeding at sea, began with the greatest care to refit their old vessels and build new ones.

IN the mean time while L. Metellus was left at Palermo, C. Furius returned home from Sicily, and held the consular comitia, where C. Atilius Regulus, whose father and grandfather were both named Marcus, and L. Manlius Vulso, whose father's name was Aulus and grandfather's Publius, were elected consuls both a second time. These consuls were appointed to fit and man the fleet, while L. Metellus was continued in his command, and ordered to carry on the war in Sicily in quality of proconsul. Asdrubal, perceiving that one of the Roman generals was gone with half of their troops, and reflecting with himself that they had for a long time declined fighting, though drawn up in order of battle, was no longer able to bear the clamor of his own troops, who exclaimed against his indolence. Wherefore, he marched out of Lilybæum with all his forces, crossed the country of Selinuns by a very difficult rout, arrived in the territory of Palermo and encamped there. It happened that the proconsul was then in the city with part of the army which had been left with him. As the summer was already past, he had come there to defend the allies, while they were reaping and gathering in their harvest.

HAVING been informed that there were some of the enemy's spies lurking at Palermo, he ordered all the people of the town to assemble without the walls. Then commanding them to take hold of one another's hands, he discovered the spies, by asking every stranger, "who he was, and what business he had at Palermo?" As soon as he learned from them what the enemy intended, perceiving that they had undertaken this enterprize rashly and inconsiderately, in order to draw them on to a vain confidence and insecurity, he feigned to be afraid and kept close within the walls. This emboldened Asdrubal the more, so that he advanced nearer with his camp, ravaged and burnt the lands of Palermo, destroyed

CHAP.

L.

C. Atilius  
Regulus and  
L. M. Vulso  
consuls.  
Y. of R. 502.  
B. J. C. 250.

CHAP.

LI.



CHAP.

LI.

stroyed the corn, and pillaged the country up to the very walls of the city. But neither the loss nor disgrace moved the proconsul, as he was convinced, that by a short delay he would be able to pay the Carthaginians home in both coins with considerable interest. But more especially he hoped, that the enemy would pass the Orethus, a river which run by the south side of the town; which if they did, he promised himself an easy victory over them. In order to allure them to this, he posted but very few guards on the walls, and seemed to manage every thing else with an air of timorousness, desiring that the enemy should despise both the courage and number of his troops.

CHAP.

LII.

HIS design, which the enemy's general by his rashness, and fortune by an unforeseen accident furthered, succeeded to his wish. For Asdrubal passed the river with his foot, horse and elephants, and encamped close to the walls, in such contempt of the enemy, who, they imagined, had given undoubted proofs of their cowardice, that looking on a ditch and rampart as quite unnecessary, they pitched their tents without any lines to defend them. As the sutlers and merchants brought great plenty of provisions and wine to it, the Carthaginian mercenaries, by drinking immoderately, filled every place with such hideous noise and confusion, as are generally consequent to drunkenness. The proconsul thought this the proper time to draw on the enemy to action, by leading forth some light horse; and this scheme succeeded so well, that by one party's falling after another, Asdrubal's whole army came at length into the field.

CHAP.

LIII.

THEN the proconsul, L. Cæcilius, posted a detachment of light horse before the moat of the town, with orders "if the elephants advanced nearer, to  
 " throw their darts very thick upon them; and if  
 " they themselves were pressed, to retreat into the  
 " ditch, and from thence annoy them." He ordered the meanest of the tradesmen and the rabble to  
 carry



carry out all kinds of missile weapons, and throw them over the walls, for the use of the light horse: he placed archers upon the walls, while he himself stood ready with the heavy-armed cohorts in battalia within the gate, that faced the enemy's right wing. In the mean time, those that were engaged sometimes retreated in good order, when they were overpowered by numbers, and sometimes maintained the battle when supported by the fresh reinforcements which the proconsul quickly sent to their relief, when they were pushed. But the guides of the elephants, fired with emulation, and willing to get the victory entirely by their own means, rather than that Asdrubal should do it, spur'd on their beasts, and overthrew the enemy. And inconsiderately pursuing those who retreated to the town, they came up to the ditch.

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LIII.

AS a shower of darts was poured upon them from the walls, and the detachment, which had been a little before posted before the ditch, lanced their spears at them very thick, the elephants galled with the wounds they received, turned round and fell upon their own men. Wherever their smart and fury carried them they trod down all they met, and began to break and disorder the ranks of the whole army. As soon as the proconsul perceived this, he cried out, "the time for gaining the victory, which he had looked for, was now come," opened the gate and sallied out. As his troops were in good order and array, they obtained an easy victory over the enemy, who were in the utmost consternation and confusion. Great numbers were slain in the battle and many in the pursuit. And an accident, which ought to have relieved them in their distress, contributed more to their ruin. For the Punic fleet appearing at the same time, as the terrified multitude ran blindfold and promiscuously to it, as their only sanctuary, many of them were either trod to death by their own elephants, or killed by the pursuers, and a great number perished in the sea, by being pushed into it as they were crowding in disorder aboard the vessels.

CHAP.

LIV.



CHAP. LV. THE Romans, either then or afterwards, never gained a more glorious victory. It inspired them with their former courage, and struck such terror into the enemy, that they not only despaired of succeeding, but even, during all that war, laid aside thoughts of fighting by land. In this battle it is said twenty thousand Carthaginians were slain, twenty-six elephants taken on the spot, and all the rest soon after. For the proconsul, reflecting that these beasts, that were running up and down wild, could not easily be taken, by such as were not acquainted with them, by proclamation promised “safety and liberty to any of the prisoners, by whose means it should appear the elephants were taken.” By this means the tamest and gentlest of them were first taken, and they easily brought in the rest. L. Metellus sent them all to Rome, using an invention for transporting them, which deserves our notice.

CHAP. LVI. FOR as he had no vessels fit for that purpose, he gathered together a great number of empty casks, which he fastened two and two together with a piece of timber placed between them, to prevent them from beating against one another, or from separating. Of these he made floats, and a kind of floor of planks over them, which he covered with earth and other materials. He also raised a kind of wall on the sides, so that they looked like stables, and the beasts entered them without any fear, and landed at Rhegium without being sensible they were upon the water, a thing they cannot endure. Asdrubal after his defeat escaped to Lilybæum. But being condemned during his absence at Carthage, he was seized on his return home and put to death. In the mean time the Carthaginians seeing their armies routed, their elephants taken, all Sicily except Lilybæum and Drepanum lost, the Romans possessed of a new fleet and powerful both by sea and land, began seriously to think of peace, and would now have cheerfully entered into a treaty, if it could have been concluded on reasonable terms.



WHEREFORE bethinking themselves of M. Regulus, and the articles of peace he had proposed to them, they believed that by his means they would certainly obtain either peace, or what they looked on as the next greatest advantage, an exchange of prisoners. And they did not doubt but he would use his utmost endeavors in the business, even for his own sake. “What man, said they, could be imagined so hard-hearted, as not to desire to quit a miserable prison, to return to his family which he loved most tenderly, and to enjoy his liberty, be reinstated in his native country, and be there promoted to honorable offices. As for M. Regulus, he had a wife and children at Rome; his kinsmen and relations were senators and magistrates, and his cousin one of the present consuls. His successes had endear’d him to the senate and people, and they pitied him for his misfortunes. Therefore, if he had any regard for himself, or was valued by his friends, in either case none would be more diligent in managing the business, nor more likely to succeed in it.” He did not refuse to accept the office, though, as afterwards appeared, he had therein no view to his private advantage, and his sole motive was, by his presence more effectually to persuade the senate to maintain the advantages the state had gain’d. Being thus join’d in commission with the Carthaginian ambassadors, when they came to Rome he refused to enter the city, though he was entreated by the Romans, alledging, “that the senate, according to ancient custom, ought to give an enemy’s ambassador audience without the town.”

CHAP.

LVII.



THEREFORE when the senate was assembled, he stood up among the Carthaginian ambassadors, and said, “that he being by the law of arms a subject of the Carthaginians, was come likewise to lay before them the demands of his masters; the principal of which was, that a peace should be concluded on such conditions as both nations could agree

CHAP.

LVIII.





CHAP.  
LVIII.

“ agree on; but, if that should not succeed, there  
 “ should at least be an exchange of prisoners.” The  
 ambassadors immediately withdrew, and he followed,  
 nor would he be present at the deliberations of the  
 senate, though they earnestly intreated him, till the  
 Carthaginians gave him leave. Then he took his  
 place and remained silent, till his opinion was asked.  
 “ Conscript fathers, says he, I am still a Roman,  
 “ and though it was the will of fate, that my body  
 “ should fall into the hands of enemies, yet my soul,  
 “ which is not in fortune’s power, still remains what  
 “ it was. Wherefore in compliance with the dictates  
 “ of it, which I look upon as my own, rather than  
 “ to obey my body, which is another’s property, I  
 “ advise you neither to grant peace nor an exchange  
 “ of prisoners. Whilst the war subsists, it is whole-  
 “ ly against your interest to restore the captives: for  
 “ in lieu of me they demand many generals, and  
 “ those are young, whereas I am old; besides I know,  
 “ that you look on some of them as men of abilities.  
 “ And to put an end to the war, but upon the most  
 “ favorable conditions, or the total conquest of your  
 “ enemies, is both unworthy of your consummate  
 “ wisdom, and very detrimental to the Roman  
 “ state.

CHAP.  
LIX.

“ AT the same time I’m sensible, that you meet  
 “ with many difficulties in carrying on this war; for  
 “ grand enterprizes cannot be accomplished without  
 “ great trouble and expence. But if you will com-  
 “ pare the fortune of the Carthaginians with your  
 “ own, you will find the balance considerably in  
 “ your favors. Either by my ill conduct, or bad  
 “ fortune, we once lost a great battle: but we  
 “ have often defeated their armies, and our vic-  
 “ tory at Palermo hath dejected and sunk their  
 “ spirits, though elated by my defeat, even much  
 “ lower than they were before. They have lost  
 “ all Italy except two towns, and their affairs in  
 “ the other islands are in a bad situation. You  
 “ have a fleet which the Carthaginian dare not en-  
 “ gage.



gage. And the wrecks you have suffered by  
 storms, have not so much impaired your strength,  
 as increased your caution. Perhaps the case of  
 both states with regard to want of money is equal.  
 But consider that the states of Italy are better  
 affected to you, than the Africans are to the  
 Carthaginians, whom they never loved, and to  
 whom they have lately contracted a mortal aver-  
 sion. For if before they suffered any injury, or  
 had any galling provocation, they quickly revolt-  
 ed to me, now that their former masters have laid  
 waste their country, drove off their flocks, extorted  
 their money from them and put their principal men  
 to death, what do you think they wait for, in or-  
 der to throw off the yoke? Nothing else, sure, than  
 that a new army should be sent from hence to Africa?  
 “ BESIDES, as you can easily levy a numerous  
 army without difficulty, composed of brave men,  
 who speak the same language, have the same man-  
 ners and religion, are fellow citizens and relations, I  
 look on this circumstance to be of so great impor-  
 tance, that it alone will enable you to dispute the  
 victory and finally conquer the Carthaginians,  
 though you should come short of them in other re-  
 spects. For what will an army of mercenaries fig-  
 nify, against such troops? And though they could  
 be of any service, the Carthaginians by their cruelty  
 have prevented it, and rendered it as difficult for  
 themselves to raise foreign troops, as to keep in their  
 service those they do raise. Their horridly ingrate-  
 ful and perfidious treatment of Xanthippus, to  
 whom Carthage is indebted for all she had to lose  
 since, will be a warning to others not to enter  
 rashly into the service of a people, who requite  
 the greatest benefits with the greatest injuries.  
 Besides the commonalty of the barbarians, though  
 a stupid mercenary race, will be no less de-  
 terred by the cruelty exercised upon their coun-  
 trymen, who sometimes have fallen by the hand  
 of an executioner or of their fellow soldiers,  
 “ some-

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“ sometimes been exposed in desert islands; and in-  
 “ stead of receiving their pay have suffered uncom-  
 “ mon tortures, and been put to death in the most  
 “ inhuman manner. Thus, conscript fathers, have I  
 “ laid before you my reasons for being of opinion  
 “ that you neither ought to grant peace or an ex-  
 “ change of prisoners to the Carthaginians.”

## CHAP.

LXI.

THE senate relished the advice, provided they could have complied with it and save the author of it at the same time. And the more he neglected his own safety to promote the public interest, the more he excited their pity: nay they seemed inclined on any terms to have a man of so generous a spirit restored to his country. Many said publicly, “ that  
 “ since by returning to his own country he had re-  
 “ covered the right he had lost, he might lawfully  
 “ stay in the city or be detained there.” The pontifex maximus likewise affirmed, “ that he might  
 “ stay in the city without being forsworn.” But he, with a spirit and countenance that amazed the senators, replied, “ Romans, only once cease to de-  
 “ mur, follow my advice, and resolve to abandon  
 “ all concern about me! For it is in vain for you to  
 “ endeavor to obtain what hereafter will neither  
 “ prove agreeable to yourselves, advantageous to  
 “ your country, nor honorable for me. Perhaps  
 “ while the thing is recent you would rejoice and  
 “ be well pleased to have me amongst you. But as  
 “ soon as the first transports of that short-lived plea-  
 “ sure are over, you will detest me more for my  
 “ returning on dishonorable terms, than you would  
 “ have longed for me in my absence.

## CHAP.

LXII.

“ FOR I am determined not to live in that city,  
 “ in which, since I have been a prisoner in Africa,  
 “ I cannot maintain the dignity of an honest citizen.  
 “ Besides, was I ever so desirous to stay, my honor,  
 “ the invincible obligation of my oath and reverence  
 “ for the Gods forbids me. The Divinities, whom  
 “ I invoked and called to witness my solemn en-  
 “ gagement to return to the Carthaginians, I am  
 “ afraid



“ afraid will not avenge the perjury on me, but on  
 “ you and the Roman people. For certainly there  
 “ are Gods, and they do not suffer perjury, and con-  
 “ tempt of their divinities to pass unpunished.  
 “ And if any imagine that I can be absolved from  
 “ my oath; that the expiations necessary for such  
 “ absolutions are recorded in the registers of our au-  
 “ gurs; that breach of faith and perjury may be  
 “ atoned for by sacrifices and victims; I would have  
 “ them consider, that the majesty of the Gods,  
 “ when affronted by perjury, can never be appeased  
 “ by any human inventions; neither is it reasonable  
 “ to imagine that guilt contracted by sin can be  
 “ washed away by the blood of sheep or oxen.

“ AS to myself, I know that the Carthaginians  
 “ are preparing excessive racks and exquisite tortures  
 “ for me. But I look on breach of faith as more  
 “ terrible than all these. For they affect the body  
 “ more than the mind, which is really the princi-  
 “ pal part of M. Atilius. Never then think him  
 “ miserable who has learned to bear his miseries  
 “ with patience. As for imprisonment, disgrace,  
 “ pain, hunger and want of sleep, as I never looked  
 “ on them as evils, so after suffering them so long,  
 “ I have ceased to think them troublesome. For by  
 “ bearing them I have learned, that they are sup-  
 “ portable; and if my miseries are increased above  
 “ what a mortal man can bear, death will soon de-  
 “ liver me from them and from all others. Where-  
 “ fore I see, that he who fears not death has nothing  
 “ else to fear. Death too is in every man’s power,  
 “ and I would have taken refuge in it, had not I  
 “ thought it became a brave man rather to conquer  
 “ than avoid pain. I have made this short and  
 “ confused speech, to convince you, that it is not  
 “ in your power to divert me from my resolution,  
 “ and that you may not pity my case as unhappy and  
 “ miserable; but on the contrary, that my persisting  
 “ in my purpose is altogether rational and easy. For  
 “ I certainly ought to take care to return to Carthage,



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LXIII.

“ and the Gods will take care of what I am to suffer  
 “ there.” It is likewise said that the more effectually  
 to remove the senate’s scruples about letting him go,  
 he told them, “ that before he left Carthage, they  
 “ had given him a slow poison, which, preying by  
 “ degrees upon his vitals, might kill him after he  
 “ was reinstated in his country by an exchange of  
 “ prisoners.”

CHAP.

LXIV.

THIS brave man’s steadiness in virtue is amaz-  
 ing; for rather than forfeit his honor he courted  
 disgrace, tortures, death, and every thing at which  
 human nature shrinks, with more eagerness than  
 others decline them. This may be an useful lesson  
 to convince mankind, that those men only, who  
 have a just sense of the dignity of their nature, and  
 remember that they were not born for this life alone,  
 can brave the terrors of death, and firmly maintain  
 their integrity to the last. For M. Regulus would  
 not willingly have submitted to suffer such bitter mi-  
 series, had he not been persuaded, that after this life  
 virtue would be greatly rewarded, and vice punished.  
 When the senate had passed an act agreeable to his o-  
 pinion, he followed his masters the Carthaginian em-  
 bassadors, who were grieved and enraged at their dis-  
 appointment, without changing his countenance. But as  
 it plainly appeared that they would cruelly wreak their  
 vengeance on him for persuading the senate to reject  
 their proposals, some of the Romans gave or-  
 ders to detain Regulus against his will. When  
 his wife and children filled every place with weep-  
 ing and lamentation, the consuls declared “ that  
 “ they would not deliver him up, if he was willing  
 “ to stay, nor stop him if he would go.”

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LXV.

THUS being left to his choice, he refused to speak  
 with his wife, and avoiding the fond embraces and  
 kisses of his little children, he was carried back to  
 Carthage, where he ended his days by the most ex-  
 quisite tortures that could be inflicted. For having  
 cut off his eye-lids, they kept him some time in  
 a dungeon, from whence they then brought him  
 ou



out when the sun was at the hottest and obliged him to look at the light. Afterwards they put him in a wooden chest, turned towards the sun, and drove full of nails with the points inwards, and so narrow, that he was obliged to stand continually upright in it. For whichever way he leaned the nails pierced his weary body, and he died by the extremity of the torture, and for want of sleep. Such was the end of M. Atilius Regulus, which was more remarkable and illustrious even than his life, though spent in great glory and renown. He was a man of uncorrupted integrity, inflexible constancy, and great conduct. And neither his contemporaries nor posterity could find any fault with him, except that he seems to have born prosperity with too much levity, and by rejecting the suit of the Carthaginians entailed a war, that lasted many years, upon both states to their unspeakable prejudice.

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BUT he effaced this weakness by his other virtues, and principally by his admirable constancy in death, being more happy in having thus born up under that misery, than he could have been, had he avoided it when he saw it impending. When the news of Regulus's death, and the inhuman cruelty of the Carthaginians reached Rome, the senate delivered up the prisoners of greatest quality to Marcia and her children. These shut them up in a press stuck round with nails, intending to put them to death by the same tortures which Regulus underwent, and gave them no victuals for five days. In this time Bostar the Carthaginian died with grief and hunger. But Hamilcar, who was a stronger man, having as much victuals allowed him as would prolong his days in pain, lived five days longer shut up with the body of Bostar. But at last the magistrates, being informed of what passed, gave strict orders to exercise no farther cruelty, to send Bostar's ashes into his own country, and treat the rest of the prisoners with more humanity. This shews the difference be-

CHAP.  
LXVI.



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tween the tempers of these two nations; for the one without being unjustly injured, or having it in their power to hurt their enemy with impunity, cruelly punished the virtue they ought to have adored; the other set bounds even to a just revenge, without giving way to that resentment, which the crime required, being influenced by the principles of humanity, and that commendable clemency which is practised in great states.

End of the EIGHTEENTH BOOK.





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JOHN FREINSHEIM'S  
SUPPLEMENT  
TO THE  
ROMAN HISTORY  
BY

TITUS LIVIUS of Padua.

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DECADE II. BOOK XIX.

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*Cæcilius Metellus, on account of his success against the Carthaginians, obtains a most magnificent triumph; thirteen of the enemy's generals and one hundred and twenty elephants being led in the procession. Claudius Pulcher the consul sets out for the army, though the auspices are unfavorable, orders the chickens that would not eat to be thrown into the sea, is defeated by the Carthaginians in a sea-fight, recalled by the senate, ordered to nominate a dictator, and declares C. Glycius a person of the meanest rank, who, though he was obliged to abdicate his office, had afterwards the honor of seeing the games in his robe prætexta. Atilius Calatinus the first dictator, who leads an army out of Italy. The Roman prisoners exchanged for the Carthaginian. Two colonies transplanted, one to Fregeellæ, and the other to Brundisium in the territory of the Salentines. The censors close the lustrum. Two hundred fifty one thousand two hundred and twenty one citizens enrolled. Claudia, the sister of that Claudius, who, in contempt of the auspices, had engaged the Carthaginians and been defeated by them, being pressed by the crowd in her return from the games, says, "I wish my brother was alive and had the command of another fleet," for which words she is fined. Two prætors now first created at Rome. Cæcilius Metellus the high priest detains in the city A. Posthumius the consul, who was likewise flamen of Mars, when he intended to go to command the army, nor would he*



*suffer him to be absent from his sacred function. After several advantages obtained over the Carthaginians, C. Lucretius the consul has the honor to give the finishing stroke to the war, by the complete victory which he obtains over their fleet at the islands Ægates. The Carthaginians sue for peace which is granted them. When the temple of Vesta is on fire, Cæcilius Metellus the high priest snatches the sacred things out of the flames. Two tribes added to the former, the Velina and Quirina. The Falisci rebel, are subdued in six days, and return to their duty.*

# CHAP. I.

AS soon as the Carthaginian ambassadors had left Rome, the consuls received orders from the senate to transport their army into Sicily. Accordingly they obeyed them with the utmost cheerfulness, as they were impatient to revenge the death of Regulus, to rival the glory of Marcellus, and draw advantages from the victory he had gained. For they did not only estimate the greatness of it by what the Carthaginians had suffered, though, by the loss of their army and so many elephants, they were less able to continue the war; but they reckoned more upon the Roman soldiers being recovered from their fright by defeating these very beasts which they had formerly dreaded, and for this reason they were in great hopes of putting an end to the war, if they did not fail to improve the opportunity which fortune had put into their hand. Having equipt a fleet of two hundred sail, both the consuls landed at Panormus with four legions, and having taken on board all the rest of the forces, except what was necessary for garisons, they came to Lilybæum with a fleet of two hundred and forty ships with stems, sixty with long poops, besides a vast many vessels of different kinds, and having called a counsel of war, resolved to attack the city.

# CHAP. II

THIS is that famous siege of Lilybæum, which commenced the fourth year of the present war, and after lasting ten years without intermission, was not terminated by the taking of the city, or the surrender of the inhabitants, but with the entire conclusion of the war. For as both nations knew perfectly well what importance it was of, either for the

the



the defence of Africa, or the conquest of Sicily, both sides exerted all their mettle, the one to take, the other to defend it. The triumph of Metellus in some measure alleviated the grief of the city of Rome, occasioned by the miserable death of Regulus, not only by exposing to the people's view the spoils they had taken from the enemy, and bringing to their remembrance the glorious victory they had obtained over them, but also by making them taste the sweets of revenge inflicted upon a barbarous nation. He triumphed over the Carthaginians in quality of pro-consul, on the seventh of September. Thirteen of their generals, one hundred and twenty of their elephants, and according to some, a greater number was led before his chariot. Some time after, during the celebration of the games, these beasts were driven round the circus by the workmen with lances headed with iron, to accustom the people to despise those enormous creatures which they had before been most terribly afraid of. Verrius Flaccus writes that they were afterwards killed with darts, because the senate did not think it advisable either to use them in war themselves, or consistent with the public safety to make a present of them to any of the kings their allies, on account of the great addition it would be to their power.

CHAP.  
II.

THE same year provisions were so extraordinary cheap at Rome, that a modius<sup>a</sup> of flower was said to be sold for an ass of brass and seven pints of wine<sup>b</sup>, thirty pound<sup>c</sup> weight of dried figs, ten pound weight of oil, and twelve pound weight of flesh at the same price. The occasion of this cheapness was, because there was greater plenty of provisions in all places than of money, which was become extremely scarce, by reason of the vast expences the republic had been put to by the long continuance of the war.

CHAP.  
III.

<sup>a</sup> One peck English according to Arbuthnot.

<sup>b</sup> Arbuthnot.

<sup>c</sup> Ten ounces eighteen penny-

weights thirteen grains and five-sevenths of a grain English troy weight is, according to Arbuthnot, equal to a Roman *libra*.



CHAP.

III.



During these transactions at Rome, the consuls pressed the siege of Lilybæum with all their vigor, and the besieged defended themselves with no less bravery. They first assaulted the tower which jutted out farther than the rest towards the sea of Lybia. Having beaten this down, they played their machines against the towers that were nearest to it, till they demolished six of them. After that they began to fill the ditches, that they might roll the machines over them, and bring them nigh enough to batter the rest of the towers, and though this was a very laborious work, the breadth of the ditch being sixty, and the depth of it forty cubits, yet it was begun and carried on with the utmost ardor.

CHAP.

IV.



TO prevent this the Carthaginians endeavored to clear the ditches on the inside by drawing out the earth which the Romans threw into them. But as the number of them who brought materials to fill them up was superior, the moats were levelled in spite of all their efforts, upon which they abandoned that design, and built a new wall between the other and the city. For Himilco applying himself to every thing with unwearied application, and employing besides the inhabitants of the city ten thousand mercenaries, by his sagacity, vigilance and constancy, defeated all the efforts and stratagems of the enemy. This general neither allowed his own men to neglect their duty, nor suffered the enemy to be unmolested; he opposed works to works, mines to mines, and arms to arms. He often sallied out upon the Romans, when both parties fought with as much ardor, and as many men were slain in these sudden encounters, as in a pitched battle. Upon the Romans attempting to sap<sup>a</sup> the foundation of the wall, and

<sup>a</sup> Mining consisted formerly in first sapping the walls of a besieged city, and then propping up the mine with posts. When the work was finished, the miner daubed the props all over with pitch, and other combustible matter; and as soon as the wood was burnt, the wall tumbled down, with

a great noise, and filled up the ditch. Then the besiegers marched up through the cloud of dust which arose from it, and began the assault; and generally took the place, by the help of the breach, that was made by the falling of the wall.



throw it down Himilco ordered a mine to be dug immediately, where he saw them removing the earth. And when it was opened, he put armed men into it, who falling upon the enemy, intent on their work and defenceless, slew a great number of them, and burnt no fewer of those who came to their relief by setting fire to some faggots which they had before thrown into the ditch.

CHAP  
IV.

HOWEVER the fears of the besieged increased daily, and some officers belonging to the mercenaries taking the advantage of this consternation, under pretext that they were not punctually paid, formed a design to betray the city to the Romans, not in the least doubting but each of them would be able to engage their men to approve of their designs. Accordingly one night they stole privately out of the city, came to the Roman camp, and discovered to the consuls the conditions the besieged were in, and their own intentions. There was among the mercenaries employed at Lilybæum at that time one Alixon, a native of Achæan, a man well skilled in military affairs, and of untainted honor. Upon his discovering the design of these traitors, he immediately informed Himilco. Upon this information, the general, that he might not lose one moment to avert the imminent danger which threatened him, instantly assembled all the foreign officers that were in the city, discovered to them the traitorous designs of their companions, exhorted them “not to imitate their  
“temerity and unfaithfulness, assuring them if they  
“continued in their duty, the Carthaginians would  
“gratefully resent their fidelity, pay them punctu-  
“ally, and reward them generously; but if they  
“stained their reputation with an odious act of trea-  
“son, they would draw down upon themselves the  
“vengeance of Gods and men.” At the same time he distributed among them all the money which he could collect in this hurry, and promised “he  
“would take care to pay the private men as soon as  
“possible.”

CHAP  
V.



## CHAP.

VI.



THE power of eloquence is very great, when it is seasonably applied, especially if the speaker is a man of so much honor as to gain credit to what he says. It is certain, that every one of these officers agreed to his proposals, and cheerfully offered him their assistance to keep their troops in their duty. Himilco commended their zeal, animated them with the hopes of nobler rewards, and desired them to go directly and endeavor to make good their engagements. He sent with them Hannibal the son of that Hannibal who had perished in Sardinia and Alexon the Achæan. The first was charged to deal with the Gauls, who loved him, and knew him well by his having served a long time among them, and the last was to use his interest with the other mercenaries, who all equally esteemed and respected him. These officers, by giving their word of honor that Himilco's promises should be punctually performed, diverted them so much from their villainous designs, that when the traitors came soon after to the walls, the soldiers to a man not only refused to hear them, but they even loaded them with reproaches, and drove them away with darts.

## CHAP.

VII.



UPON which they returned to the consuls without being able to make good their engagements, and they made them some presents, and assigned them lands in Sicily for a subsistence. Thus when the affairs of the Carthaginians were upon the point of being ruined by an unexpected conspiracy, they were saved at this juncture by the fidelity of Alexon, who having formerly done the same service to the Agrigentines when threatened with a like plot by the Syracusan mercenaries, justly deserves a place in history, and to have his fidelity transmitted to posterity with due praise. After this the courage of the besieged was revived by the arrival of new succors. For though the Carthaginians had no information of what had passed at Lilybæum, they were convinced the condition of the place would not allow them to be slow in their resolutions. Accordingly they ordered



dered Adherbal, who had the care of their naval affairs, to get ready a squadron to carry men, money and provisions to the besieged. He dispatched away Hannibal, the son of Amilcar, who taking the opportunity of a fair wind sailed from the island of Ægusa<sup>a</sup>, directly for the port of Lilybæum, having disposed his soldiers in order for fighting, and being resolved to force his way through the enemy, if they should oppose him. At the beginning of the siege the Romans had stopt up the entry of the harbor, by sinking fifteen vessels filled with stones on purpose.

BUT the Romans being partly surprised by the sudden approach of the enemy's squadron, or for fear of being driven into port themselves, or dashed upon the rocks or shallows by the violence of the winds, did not venture out to meet them. Yet be that as it will, Hannibal got safe into port, and, having landed the ten thousand men which he had on board, entered the city with great demonstrations of joy. As the Romans had not been able to hinder the enemy from getting into Lilybæum, it remained for them to consult how they might defend their own works, which they were convinced Himilco would attempt to destroy, after receiving such a considerable reinforcement of fresh men. Nor were they disappointed in their expectations. For this general having resolved to make a proper improvement of the ardor of his new troops, and of the courage of the garison which was revived by the coming of their companions, assembled them both, and with the hopes of victory, and promises of large rewards, prevailed on them to make a sally, and having made a proper disposition of his companies, at day break attacked the Roman works in several places.

<sup>a</sup> The island of Ægusa, called Capraria by the Latins, and Apponiana, by Hirtius, in his history of the African war, lies in the Sicilian, and not in the Lybian sea, as the abridg-

er of Stephanus falsely imagined. Over against this island, were the cities of Drepanum and Lilybæum. It is now called Favignana; and is three miles from Levenzo, and ten from Sicily.



CHAP.

IX.

THEY on the other hand had got every thing ready for their defence and posted strong parties, wherever they thought they were most exposed to danger. Accordingly a warm engagement immediately ensued, and so great was the ardor and number of the combatants, that many were slain on both sides; for no less than twenty thousand men sallied out of the city, and the besiegers opposed them with a somewhat superior force. For the consuls raised troops among their allies in Sicily, which amounted to more than one hundred thousand men, of whom they employed only sixty thousand men in the siege, and made it the business of the rest to guard the convoys of provisions, and to do the other necessary services of the war. But though they fought smartly in all parts, yet the heat of the battle was about the machines; for while the Carthaginians did their utmost to destroy them, and the Romans to defend them, neither side spared their own lives more than those of their enemy. There lay a great heap of dead bodies at the post where the attack had begun. The shouts of the combatants, and the horror of the danger was increased by another party of the besieged, who came armed with torches and flambeaux, rushed through the battle, and ran over the dead bodies of their own men, as well as those of the enemy, in order to set fire to the works. This they did in such a furious manner, that the Romans were upon the point of yielding to the obstinacy of the enemy, and abandoning their machines. But Himilco seeing great numbers of his men cut off, and the ardor of the Romans not in the least diminished, sounded a retreat, and left the field first. The enemy did not pursue him, being content that they had saved their engines which they had given over almost for lost.

CHAP.

X.

THE next night Hannibal, unobserved by the Romans, who were so tired out with this obstinate fight, that they neglected to observe his motions, sailed out of the port with the ships he had brought into



into it, and steered for Adherbal at Drepanum, having carried with him the cavalry which he had rightly judged could be of no service to the besieged, considering the nature of the place, purposing to make a better use of them in the country. For they made long excursions from Drepanum, infested the roads, rendered it difficult to convey provisions and other necessaries to the camp, by cutting off many of the foragers who happened to venture at a distance from it, and, distressing the Roman allies by all the miseries of war, greatly disconcerted all the measures of the consuls. Nor did Adherbal do them less mischief by sea, for he frequently made sudden incursions either on the coast of Sicily or Italy, and left nothing untried that might incommode the enemy. Upon this, provisions grew very scarce in the camp, for they had nothing almost to eat but the flesh of beasts, so that many died of the famine, and more of the distempers which followed it as usual.

CHAP.

X.

WHEREFORE the consuls having lost several thousands of their men, thought it advisable for one of them to return to Rome with his two legions to hold the comitia, that those who continued the siege might be more easily furnished with provisions. Then they made greater efforts than ever to shut up the entry into the port with stones and earth, for they fortified the mole with great piles of timber joined together crosswise and fastened with iron anchors, to make the whole more firm and compact. But their labor was all in vain, for the sea was so deep, that every thing they threw into it was torn asunder, before it reached the bottom, and a violent storm of wind, and the swelling of the waves, broke and scattered all the mole. However, as the very report of their making this work kept the port shut up for some time, this gave the Carthaginians much pain and uneasiness, and none of them could think of any expedient, whereby they might inform themselves of the condition of their friends at Lilybæum, nor would any man undertake to go and see,

CHAP.

XI.



see, till one Hannibal, surnamed the Rhodian, a brave and enterprizing man took upon him to enter the city, and after examining every thing to bring them back an exact account.

CHAP.  
XII.

THE Carthaginians were rather glad at his promise than persuaded that he could make it good, for besides the mole raised before the harbor, they knew the entry into it was guarded by Roman ships which lay at anchor before it. But Hannibal having equipt a galley, which belonged to himself, sailed to one of the islands opposite to Lilybæum, and finding the wind fair next day about ten o'clock entered the port boldly in sight of all the enemy's forces, who were amazed at his boldness. The consul, in order to intercept him in his return, chose out ten of his ships which he caused to be equipt in the night, posted at both sides of the port as nigh the entrance as possible. But Hannibal depending upon the swiftness of his galley, sailed out in broad day-light, and escaped the Romans, though they lay ready to intercept him, and pursued him as briskly as they could. And such was the swiftness of his vessel, that he was not content to have passed through the enemy, but even insulted them, and by coming up alongside of their ships, and sailing round about them, seemed in a manner to bid them defiance.

CHAP.  
XIII.

BY playing this bold part several times, he did great service to the Carthaginians, because the spirits of the besieged were wonderfully revived by the advices which they received from their countrymen, and the others knowing what they wanted could more speedily supply them with it. Besides the insulting audaciousness of this one man vexed and quite confounded the Romans. His knowledge of the place contributed much to his success, for he had taken an exact observation of all the ways, by which a ship might safely pass through the shelves and shallows into the port of Lilybæum. When he came within sight of the city from the main, he turned the stern  
of



of his galley towards Italy, so that her prow faced that tower of Lilybæum which stood farthest out towards the sea, in such a manner as to hide the sight of all the rest that lay towards Africa. This was the only safe way by which mariners could enter with full sail directly into that port. And now several other Carthaginians, encouraged by the boldness and good fortune of Hannibal, went to Lilybæum, till one of their galleys with four benches of oars of uncommon swiftness happened to be taken by the enemy.

CHAP.  
XIII.

FOR though the winds and waves had carried away the greatest part of the mole which the Romans had raised, yet where the sea was not very deep, a part of it was standing: On it this galley stuck, and being taken by the Romans, and manned with the best rowers and soldiers they had, proved the ruin of Hannibal. For having entered the port as usual in the night, as he was sailing out next morning in open day-light, upon seeing a galley, which was as swift a sailer as his own coming to meet him, he immediately apprehended the danger he was in, and first attempted, but in vain, to fly, and then to defend himself; for the Romans being superior to him in strength, took him. They made the same use of this vessel that they did of the other, to guard the mouth of the harbor, and were by their means easily able to hinder all ships from entering it for the future. Then the Romans pushed on the siege with fresh vigor, and by attacking the fortifications next the sea, drew all the besieged thither to defend them. This feint gave the rest of their troops that lay in ambush on the other side of the town, an opportunity to gain the outward wall. But they did not hold it long, for Himilco came thither seasonably with a choice body of men, and repulsed them with great slaughter.

CHAP.  
XIV.

THIS disadvantage was followed by another greater, which gave the besieged hopes of obtaining a decisive victory over the enemy. A violent storm

CHAP.  
XV.



CHAP. of wind arose suddenly, and blew, as if it had been on  
 xv. purpose, against the Roman machines with so much  
 force, that it shook their covered galleries and tore  
 away the towers erected on the tops of them. Nei-  
 ther did the townsmen neglect this opportunity  
 which they believed the favor of the Gods had given  
 them, to set fire to the works of the besiegers, which  
 they had so often attempted in vain. For they sallied  
 out in three bodies armed with torches and other  
 combustible stuff, which they threw upon the machines  
 made of wood, that had been cut a long time before,  
 and, being dried by the heat and sun, quickly took  
 fire. The Romans ran in haste to save their works,  
 but they labored under great disadvantages; for  
 the flames of the machines gave the enemy light,  
 and the wind assisted them to take a surer aim, and  
 throw their darts with more force, both which in-  
 commoded the Romans, and did them as much mis-  
 chief as the weapons of the Carthaginians. Where-  
 as the wind, being against the Romans, drove the  
 smoke, the cinders and the flames into their faces  
 and eyes, and thereby hindered them from seeing  
 where to aim their blows; while in the mean time  
 they were exposed to the darts of their enemies, the  
 force and certainty of which were as much encreased  
 as that of their own was diminished.

CHAP. THUS all the covered galleries belonging to the  
 xvi. Romans, all their ballistæ and rams, and whatever  
 machines they had prepared either for digging mines  
 or battering of walls, were all consumed by the same  
 fire. And now indeed they would have lost all hopes  
 of making themselves masters of Lilybæum by force,  
 and would certainly have raised the siege, if Hiero  
 had not sent them a large quantity of corn, and pre-  
 vailed upon them not to abandon their enterprize.  
 But having laid aside all thoughts of taking the place  
 by assault, they fortified their camp on all sides, and  
 resolved to leave the event of the affair to time and  
 chance. The besieged likewise repaired the breaches  
 in their walls, and had more courage to stand the  
 blockade



blockade than before. The news of these disasters occasioned sorrow and uneasiness at Rome; however they were persuaded that the losses, which they had sustained in the war, were only to be repaired by carrying it on with vigor; and so deeply was this opinion rivetted in their minds, that one senator who proposed to make peace is said to have been killed in the senate-house. They made great preparations for pushing on the siege, and as they wanted rowers most, having lost great numbers of them, they raised ten thousand recruits and sent them into Sicily.

CHAP.  
XVI.

PUBLIUS Claudius Pulcher the son of Appius and grandson of Caius, and L. Junius Pullus the son of Caius and grandson of one of the same name, were consuls at this time. Some authors have falsely asserted that this Claudius was the grandson of Appius the Blind. When he came to Sicily and took upon him the command of the army, he assembled his soldiers, and made a speech full of bitter invectives against his predecessors, telling them “that they  
“had abandoned themselves to indolence and pleasures, and had spent their time before Lilybæum  
“to no purpose, more like persons besieged than  
“besiegers, to the great disgrace and detriment of  
“the republic.” He was a harsh severe man, the impetuosity of his temper, and his pride on account of his high birth, made him act and speak on many occasions almost like a madman. Besides he was inexorable and cruel, and never pardoned any fault, but punished even the smallest with too much rigor; whereas his own conduct in matters of the greatest importance was not only miserably defective, but even extravagant and foolish. For he attempted to build a mole to block up the port of Lilybæum, though he blamed the former generals for the same conduct; but the maddest project of all was his design upon Drepanum<sup>a</sup>, where no less by his own imprudence than the

CHAP.  
XVII.

P. Claudius  
Pulcher and  
L. Jun. Pul-  
lus consuls.  
Y. of R. 503.  
B. J. C. 249.

<sup>a</sup> The name of Drepanum, taken from the Greek word Δρεπανος, was given this city; because it's shore made a sort of elbow, or bending.



the valor of Adherbal, he lost the finest fleet the Romans ever put to sea.

CHAP.

XVIII.



HE took it into his head, and persuaded the other officers, that he could surprize Drepanum, because the enemy having no intelligence that this fleet had been reinforced, would not be upon their guard, and never imagine that the Romans had either strength or boldness enough to attack them by sea. Accordingly he chose one hundred and twenty of his finest ships, manned them with the best rowers and the bravest of the legionary soldiers, who were all eager to go upon an expedition where they thought themselves sure of enriching themselves by a short trip, for Drepanum was only fifteen miles distant from Lilybæum. He set sail about the third watch without any noise, and had a fine passage all night without being observed by the enemy. At day break, when the foremost of his ships, which had got almost to Drepanum, were descried, Adherbal was surprized at the unusual sight, and made no doubt but the enemy was coming against him. This general had but two ways to take, either immediately to fight them, or to let them enter the port and suffer himself to be blocked up and besieged. The latter he scorned to submit to as being no less dishonorable than inconvenient and dangerous; and therefore he quickly assembled his seamen on the shore and sent them on board; then he summoned his mercenaries by the public crier, and when they were met told them in few words, but full of energy, “ what they had to hope for if they engaged the enemy chearfully, and on the contrary, “ what they had to fear, if they should decline “ giving them battle.”

CHAP.

XIX.



ALL having demanded to be led against them with shouts of joy, Adherbal commended their zeal,

which was like a scythe. It is now called Trepani. The Carthaginians fortified it, and made it one of their magazines for arms. It stood a mile from mount Eryx, formerly so fa-

mous for the temple dedicated to Venus Erycina. Near Drepanum was the little island of Columbaria, which the inhabitants now call La Columbara.

ordered



ordered them instantly on board, and desired them to sail after and not lose sight of the admiral's galley, which he went on board of himself. As soon as he had given these orders, he sailed first out of port, and had scarce passed under the rocks which hang over it, before the Roman fleet had entered it on the other side. P. Claudius, who imagined that the enemy would be terrified and not dare to face him, when he saw them preparing to make a bold defence, was in the greatest confusion, and recalled his galleys in a hurry, intending to draw them up in the open sea. But they had observed no order; for some of them were already in the basin, others were ready to enter it, and some were in the mouth of the port. Wherefore when they tacked about and made all the haste they could to get out, they run foul on one another and broke each other's oars; till at length they disengaged themselves, and getting out of port as well as they could, immediately drew up in order of battle along shore, not having time to get farther out to sea.

THE consul who had been before in the rear, finding himself in the front by the fleet's tacking about, removed and posted himself on the left. But Adherbal passing by the left wing of the enemy with five men of war, for no more came up with him, began to face the Romans, having the open sea behind him. He likewise ordered the captains of his ships as fast as they came up to join the rest at a proper distance, and when he saw them all drawn up in the same line, advanced against the enemy in order. And now both admirals having given the signal for battle, both sides engaged with equal ardor and hopes at first, but the Carthaginians soon had the advantage. For though they had not so many ships as the Romans, having only fitted out ninety, they were far superior in every thing else, for their sailors were better and their galleys lighter; besides they had chosen the most convenient place to fight in, for if they were hard put



CHAP. to it, they had sea-room to escape, and by the swift-  
 XX. ness of their galleys could easily either elude the ene-  
 my's ship that pursued them, or surround her, if she followed them too far. On the other hand the Romans being drawn up so near the shore were every way straitened, for they had neither room to run against the enemy with full force, nor stop when they pleased; but as often as they retired from the enemy that pursued them, the sterns of their ships either stuck fast on the sand-banks, or they were in danger of being dashed against the shore.

CHAP. WHEREFORE, as they could not by reason of  
 XXI. the heaviness of their ships, and the unskilfulness of their rowers, either break through the enemy's line, or charge them in the rear, and as the narrowness of the place in which they were pent up did not suffer them to tack about and assist their own ships in distress, the Carthaginians galled them without suffering any damage themselves. Besides all these disadvantages, they were likewise disheartened on a religious account, and thought they were punished by the Gods for the temerity of the consul, who determined to fight contrary to the auspices, and not only payed no regard to religion but even made a jest of it. For when the chickens would not eat, he had ordered them to be thrown into the sea, "that they might drink." Upon which, his men were intimidated and did no longer act with their usual intrepidity, imagining that the Gods were offended at them, and were averse to their engaging the enemy at that time. But the author of this defeat, after he had lost the greatest part of his fleet, had address and boldness enough to save himself. For when he saw the enemy sinking and taking his ships on all sides of him, he sheered off with thirty of his galleys that were next him, steering between the enemy's fleet and the shore, and that he might make his escape to the army at Lilybæum with more safety, being obliged to pass by several garisons belonging to Carthaginians on the coast, he adorned his ships with crowns, as if he had gained the victory.



BY this artifice the enemy were led to think that CHAP.  
 he had come off victor and that the rest of his ships XXII.  
 would soon follow, so that he not only returned safe  
 to Lilybæum but struck the Carthaginians there with  
 fear. The consul left behind him ninety three gal-  
 leys which fell into the hands of the enemy with all  
 the soldiers and rowers aboard them, except a few  
 who run their ships ashore and then got to land and  
 saved themselves as well as they could. A great  
 number of the Roman ships was likewise sunk in the  
 action; for P. Claudius had brought more than two  
 hundred vessels with him from Lilybæum. This  
 victory cost the Carthaginians very little. For it is  
 written that they lost not one single ship or man, and  
 had only a very few wounded, though the Romans  
 are said to have had eight thousand slain, and twenty  
 thousand taken prisoners. About the same time, the  
 Carthaginians took several vessels from Panormus  
 laden with corn and carried them into Drepanum, and  
 soon after sent large convoys from thence to Li-  
 lybæum, whereby they supplied the besieged with  
 great plenty of all kinds of necessaries. Nor were  
 these all the losses which the Romans suffered that  
 year, for they received another severe blow, which  
 not only took from them the possession of the sea at  
 present, but even all hopes of recovering it ever  
 after.

FOR L. Junius the other consul having sailed CHAP.  
 from Italy with sixty sail of the line, and a large XXIII.  
 number of ships with provisions for the army  
 in Sicily, when he came to Messina, found a great  
 fleet of other vessels that had come thither from the  
 army, and from different parts of the island. Having  
 joined these, he had a fleet of one hundred and twenty  
 ships of the line, and almost eight hundred ships of  
 burden, with which he sailed for Syracuse. After his  
 arrival at that port, he ordered the quæstors to pro-  
 ceed with a squadron of the fleet to Lilybæum, and  
 waited there himself till the ships, which had not been  
 ready to sail with him from Messina, should come to



CHAP. join him, and that he might receive corn which the  
 XXIII. allies brought from different parts of the Mediterra-  
 nean. In the mean time Adherbal having sent the  
 ships he had taken with the prisoners to Carthage,  
 and being encouraged by his late extraordinary suc-  
 cess and glory he had gained, to make some  
 bold attempt, gave Carthalo, who had brought with  
 him from Africa seventy ships of war and as many  
 transports, thirty more ships of the line, and detach-  
 ed him with them either to bring the Roman ships  
 out of the port of Lilybæum, or to destroy them in it.

CHAP. AT day-break this officer entered the port with  
 XXIV. great boldness, and seized some of the gallies, and set  
 others on fire, while Himilco in the mean time order-  
 ed his mercenaries to sally out upon the Romans who  
 run to defend their ships, and occasioned the utmost  
 consternation in the camp. At last, Carthalo hav-  
 ing destroyed a few gallies and taken six, sheered off  
 towards Heraclea. While he was watching here in  
 order to prevent the Roman convoys from passing to  
 Lilybæum, he was told that they were coming up  
 with a considerable number of ships of all kinds. By  
 drawing in other captains to join him, Carthalo had  
 now made up a fleet of one hundred and twenty sail  
 of stout ships, and confiding in the superiority of his  
 strength, and the victory he had lately obtained, in-  
 stantly sailed out of port and met them. The  
 two fleets came in sight of each other near the coast  
 of Gela, but the quæstors who were diffident of their  
 own strength turned towards Phintia<sup>a</sup> a city in friend-  
 ship with the Romans. This town had no port, on-  
 ly some rocks, which stood out in the sea, made a  
 road where ships might ride with tolerable safety.

CHAP. HERE the Romans landed and waited for the  
 XXV. enemy in order of battle, having brought catapultæ

<sup>a</sup> Pliny and Ptolemy make Phin-  
 tia one of the inland cities in Sicily;  
 but the authority of Antoninus's iti-  
 nerary, of Diodorus of Sicily, and of  
 Cicero, in his third oration against  
 Verres, inclines us to believe, that it

was a maritime city, situated near  
 the mouth of the Himera, not far  
 from mount Ecnomus, in the south  
 part of the island. We guess, that  
 the present city of Licata stands on  
 the place where Phintia stood.



and ballistæ from the city, which they planted along the shore to defend their vessels. The Carthaginians at first had thoughts of besieging the enemy, imagining they would retire to the city through fear, and leave their ships to be carried off by them. But when they found that the Romans defended themselves manfully, and that the enterprize was attended with danger, they abandoned it; and because the place was not convenient to anchor in, after taking a few barks laden with provisions, retired to the river Halycus<sup>a</sup> at some distance from Phintia, resolving, till their wounded men were cured, to wait the departure of the enemy in this advantageous post. Other historians, on the authority of Philinus, “ make the loss on the Roman side much greater; “ for they say, that the quæstors, being terrified at “ the first sight of the enemy, fled directly to Phin- “ tia, and so left behind them all their transports and “ other vessels, except their men of war, and that “ in the action, which they were forced to come to “ soon after, the Romans had fifty round ships and sixty “ long ones sunk, and thirteen so much bruised and “ shattered that they were rendered quite useless.”

SOON after, while the Carthaginians were on this station at the river Halycus, L. Junius the consul, having dispatched the business which had detained him at Syracuse, set sail for Lilybæum, and was observed doubling cape Pachinus by Carthalo’s advice-boats, that had been sent out to make discoveries. Upon notice of this, the Carthaginian made all the haste he could to meet the consul, who knew nothing of what had happened at Phintia, that he might fight him at as great a distance as possible from the quæstor’s squadron, and so prevent his receiving assistance from it. Junius discovered the enemy’s fleet a good way off bearing down upon him, but durst not hazard a battle, and was so closely pursued that he could not

<sup>a</sup> The river Halycus is now called by the Sicilians Platani. Near it’s spring stood an ancient city called Halyciæ from the name of this river, which discharges itself into the Sicilian sea, near Hieraclea.



fly from it; wherefore he run his ships into a place nigh to Camarina full of rocks and mud, choosin<sup>g</sup> rather to lose some of them there, than to let his whole fleet fall into the hands of the enemy. Carthalo not daring to follow him, stationed his gallies under a cape which was so situated, that he could observe both the motions of the quæstor's squadron and the consul's fleet.

CHAP.  
XXVII.

IN a short time after, the winds happening to blow violently, the Carthaginian pilots, who had been used to those seas, seeing certain signs of an approaching storm, persuaded Carthalo to quit his station and double cape Pachynus. By this means, but not without some difficulty, the Carthaginian fleet escaped the violence of it. But the Roman fleet being dashed against the rocks and crags, was so utterly destroyed, that it is said there was not so much as one plank saved of the wreck fit for any use, except two ships on board of which the consul embarked the soldiers and rowers that remained, and brought them to Lilybæum. All the vessels laden with provisions, and more than a hundred ships of war, are reported to have been lost. Howbeit a part of the army was saved, for many of the soldiers were either cast upon the neighboring coast or reached it by swimming. The senate some days before had re-called the consul Claudius out of Sicily on account of his ill conduct, and when they received the melancholy account that Junius's fleet was all cast away, they gave over all hopes of being able to do any thing by sea, and turned all their care and attention to prosecute the war by land with the utmost vigor.

CHAP.  
XXVIII.

NOR did they think it adviseable to raise the siege of Lilybæum, but orders were given to proper persons to supply the army with all necessaries in due time. What encouraged them to hope for better success for the future, was the consideration that the Romans were superior by land, though the Carthaginians were masters at sea, and the greatest part of Sicily



Sicily had either submitted to them or was united with them by treaties. But at Rome they were not only dissatisfied with the consuls for the year, but also despaired of success under consular government, which they had profaned by their contempt of religion, it being reported that L. Junius had fought contrary to the auspices as well as his colleague. Wherefore they had recourse to the nomination of a dictator, who was to go to carry on the war in Sicily, a thing quite new and unprecedented, because no person vested with that dignity had ever before that time led an army out of Italy. The insolence of P. Claudius the consul was on this occasion surprizing and almost incredible. For being ordered by the senate to nominate a dictator, as if he had not done his country mischief enough by having been the author of the terrible overthrow it had suffered, unless he stained the dignity of that office with reproach and derision, he nominated one C. Glycias who was his own secretary or tipstaff.

CHAP.  
XXVIII.

THIS unseasonable jest raised the indignation of all ranks against him, so that he was obliged to abdicate the consulship, and was afterwards tried before the people. The historians extant in Cicero's time, write that he was condemned ; but others have observed, " that when the people were determined " and ready to pass sentence of condemnation against " him, he was saved by a sudden storm of rain that " obliged the assembly to break up ; and as the Romans thought the Gods interposed in his behalf, they did not think fit to call him up to judgment any more." Yet as the honor of the republic would not suffer her to see Glycias, who was one of the meanest of the people, vested with the supreme authority, he was forced to resign the dictatorship, but was permitted to be present at the games dressed in the prætexta. A. Atilius Calatinus the son of Aulus and grandson of Cneius was nominated dictator in his room : he appointed L. Cæcilius Metellus the son of Lucius and grandson of Caius his general

C. Glycias  
dictator.

CHAP.  
XXIX.

A. Atilius  
Calatinus  
dictator, L.  
C. Metellus  
general of  
horse.



neral of horse, who had before triumphed over the Carthaginians. These generals indeed went to Sicily, but performed nothing memorable in it. In the mean time L. Junius, being uneasy at his own situation and desirous to wipe off the stain of the wreck, which his fleet had suffered, by some signal action, and being upon the watch for every opportunity, at last found means to surprize Eryx in the night time, through the treachery of some soldiers whom he had gained by bribes and promises.

CHAP.

xxx.

ERYX is the highest mountain in Sicily next Ætna. It is situated in that part of the island which looks towards Italy, almost half way between Drepanum and Panormus. On the side towards the former it is a little more rugged. On the top of the mountain was a plain, and upon it was built a temple to Venus, called from the name of the place Erycina, which was the richest temple by far of any in Sicily. Below the summit, almost on the middle of the hill, stood the city of the same name, which was accessible only by long narrow paths from the foot of the hill, through which it was very difficult to pass. After Junius had examined the nature of the place, he posted some parties of men upon the top of the mountain, and others at the narrow passes to Drepanum, being sufficiently protected by his situation and able to repulse the enemy with ease, if they should attack him. He likewise surrounded the town of Ægithallus<sup>a</sup> with a wall, and garisoned it with eight hundred men. But Carthalo having landed his soldiers in the night time took it. The garison was partly taken, partly slain, and some of it fled to Eryx. Historians give no further account of Junius that can be depended upon; some of them write, “that he was taken prisoner by Carthalo at Ægithallus;” others say, “that he laid violent

<sup>a</sup> At the foot of mount Eryx. Both the historians and geographers mention the promontory, and fortress of Ægithallus, at a little distance from cape Lilybæum, in the most

western part of Sicily. It is now called Capi di Santo Podaro, or Burnni. Fazellus, by mistake, confounds it with Capo di Santo Vito.



“ hands on himself out of fear of being condemned  
 “ for having lost the fleet he had commanded.”

NOR are we less in the dark with regard to the secular games, whether they were celebrated this year for the third time, or fourteen years after in the consulate of P. Cornelius Lentulus and C. Licinius Varus. But I think it is more probable that they were solemnized this year, the senate being prompted to it through fear, occasioned by the numerous losses they had sustained and hopes of better times, if they were more exact in their observance of religious ceremonies. This year was so fruitful that twelve pounds weight of oil were sold for an as<sup>a</sup> of brass. In this interval Calatinus having either abdicated his office, or the time of it's continuance being expired, C. Cornelius Cotta the son of Lucius and grandson of Caius, and P. Servilius Geminus the son of Quintus and grandson of Cneius, were both preferred to the consulate for the second time. These two generals had very good success in Sicily; but they neither obtained any considerable victory nor drew any great advantage from it. They indeed hemmed in the Carthaginian garisons in Lilybæum and Drepanum so closely, that they were not able to make such frequent and wide excursions as they used to do, and they likewise retook those places which the Carthaginians had seized in the inland country.

CARTHALO having made several fruitless attempts to surprize them, formed a design to ravage the coast of Italy, in hopes that the fear of this would make the consuls leave Sicily in order to defend their own country, or if they should not, he might take the opportunity to plunder their lands and storm their towns. But he had no better success here than in Sicily. For the prætor being sent from Rome with the city legions to protect the allies of the republic, made him despair of executing his designs, and thereupon return to Sicily. Here

CHAP.  
XXXI.

C. A. Cotta  
and P. Ser.  
Geminus  
consuls.  
Y. of R. 504.  
B. J. C. 248.

CHAP.  
XXXII.

<sup>a</sup> Three one tenth of a farthing, according to Arbuthnot.



CHAP. his mercenaries mutinied for want of their pay, several of whom he exposed in desert islands, and others he sent to Carthage to be punished. These proceedings so much enflamed their companions, that they had like to have come to an open revolt and thereby kindled a fresh war. But Hamilcar, who was appointed successor to Carthalo, arriving in good time, fell upon the mutineers in the night, and having slain some and drowned others, forgave the rest upon their begging pardon for what they had done. This is that Hamilcar who is so well known by the surname of Barcas, that gallant officer, who would not have had his equal among the Carthaginian generals, if he had not been father of Hannibal.

CHAP. FROM this time the Romans began to feel the miseries of the war more sensibly. For as soon as Hamilcar had quelled the mutinous mercenaries, he sailed with the fleet to Italy and laid waste the lands of the Locrians and Bruttians with fire and sword. Now the Romans in gratitude to Hiero king of Syracuse, who had steadily adhered to their interest and done them many singular services, remitted him the yearly tribute which he had agreed to pay them by a former treaty, and concluded with him a perpetual treaty of friendship and alliance. In the mean time, Hamilcar being returned from Italy, landed his men and encamped them between Panormus and mount Eryx in a post which was naturally very strong. The hill was called Epiercte<sup>a</sup>, and was steep on all sides. It rose to a great height above the country round about it, and did not terminate in a point,

<sup>a</sup> This mountain is doubtless the same which the historians called Ercta, and which is now called Monte Pelegrino, not far from Panormus. We have spoken of it already. As this post was difficult of access, Hamilcar seized it, to secure himself against the attacks of the Romans. And he found another advantage in it. The top of the mount was a vast plain, which was very convenient for his troops to encamp on. Dio-

dorus Siculus says, b. 22. that it was at least a hundred stadia, that is, 12500 geometrical paces in circumference. It's soil, he says, was fruitful, and furnished good pasture for the cattle of the country. It had several springs of fresh water, and all things necessary for the subsistence of an army. And near it, nature had formed a very convenient port, for ships, that sailed from Lilybæum or Drepanum, to Italy.



but its top was a plain containing almost an hundred furlongs. All the soil was very fruitful in corn, and furnished good pasture for cattle, and being very conveniently exposed to the sea-breezes was infested with no venomous creatures. There was a little hill on it which served both as a citadel and a watch tower, whence they had a prospect of all the country round about.

NEAR it there was a very convenient port for CHAP. ships that sailed from Drepanum or Lilybæum to Italy, and it was well stored with springs of fresh water. This mountain is only accessible by three ways, two of them are from the land, and the other from the sea, but they were all very bad and steep. Here Hamilcar encamped, and thereby discovered a surprizing boldness, by posting himself between two of the enemy's cities, whilst he had no city in alliance with the Carthaginians to send him succors. However depending on the strength of the place, and his own bravery and knowledge of war, he harassed the Romans most terribly, retrieved the affairs of his country in Sicily, which for some time past had begun to take a more favorable turn in Africa. For Hanno, the other Carthaginian general, Hamilcar's rival in glory, in order to raise his reputation by inuring his soldiers to war, and at the same maintaining them at the expence of the enemy without any charge to the republic, had led them into that part of Lybia<sup>a</sup> where Hecatonpylos<sup>b</sup> lay, and

xxxiv.

<sup>a</sup> Under the name of Lybia, the ancients comprehended all Africa. But strictly speaking, it signified only that vast country, which lay between the Mediterranean to the north, the Atlantick ocean to the west, the Ethiopian sea to the south, and Ethiopia itself to the East. Lybia was divided into two parts, one of which was called the outer Lybia, and the other the inner. The former reached, according to Ptolemy, from Alexandria to Cyrene; and comprehended those vast regions, which were called by the ancient geographers, Africa, Lybia Propria, Mauritania Cæsariensis, Mauritania Sitifa, Mauritania Tin-

gitana, and Numidia. The kingdoms of Fez, Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, and Barca, were all parts of this great country. The name of the inner Lybia was given to that vast tract of ground, which lay more to the south, and was bounded by the outer Lybia, the Atlantick ocean, and Ethiopia. But the Romans gave the name of Lybia more especially to that part of the north of Africa, which was bounded to the East, by Egypt; to the north by the Mediterranean; to the west by the great Syrtis, and the kingdom of Tripoli; and to the south by Ethiopia.

<sup>b</sup> No traces of it remaining.



L. Cæcil.  
Metellus,  
and Num.  
Fab. Buteo  
consuls.

Y. of R. 505.  
B. J. C. 247.

having taken that city, had carried three thousand of it's citizens to be kept as hostages of their fidelity. However fortune did not always continue to be so favorable to them. For under the second consulship of L. Cæcilius Metellus the son of Lucius and grandson of Cneius, and the first of Numerius Fabius Buteo the son of Marcus and grandson of one of that name, a fleet, fitted out at the charge of private persons, ravaged Africa.

CHAP.  
XXXV.

FOR though the senate had resolved to send no more fleets to sea, they granted a power to those citizens that desired it, to send ships to sea, upon condition that they should restore the galleys which the republic lent them, and keep the plunder for themselves. By this means a considerable squadron was equipt which alarmed the African coast, and did a deal of mischief there. It had even the boldness to fall upon Hippo Regius<sup>a</sup> which was no small city, where it burnt the ships in the port, and a great part of the buildings. When they were about to leave the place, they found the mouth of the port shut up with chains, and extricated themselves from this imminent danger by an excellent expedient. For they rowed their vessels with all their force, and when the prows were upon the point of touching the chain, all the men removed to the sterns. This raised the fore parts and made them easily enter upon the

<sup>a</sup> The ancient geographers mention two cities of Hippo in Africa. One they call Hippo Regius, because subject to the kings of Numidia; which lay towards the western coast of Africa, near a gulph of the same name; and which was the city in which St. Austin ended his days, after he had been bishop there several years. The French now call both the city, and the neighboring gulph, Bone. It at present belongs to the kingdom of Algiers. But this in all probability was not the city, in which the Romans committed their hostilities. They had then no quarrel with the Numidians: which makes it more likely, that the Roman fleet fell upon

the other city of Hippo, which Ptolemy calls Hipponem Diarrhytum, that is, Irriguum or Wet Hippo, because it's territory was watered with many rivulets; agreeably to Pliny's observation, b. 5. c. 4. Diarrhytum a Græcis dictum, propter aquarum Irriguum. Nevertheless, Strabo calls this city Regius Hippo, as well as the other. It stood near Utica, 25 or 30 leagues from Carthage. Antonius's itinerary places Hippo Regius 218000 geometrical paces, that is, above eighty leagues from Carthage. The Hippo here spoken of, is now only a castle belonging to the kingdom of Tunis. Some call it Biserta Vecchia, others Razamilara.



chain ; after which they removed back again to their prows, in order to weigh down the galleys at that end, and so they made them slide over the chains, and got safe into the water. Having escaped this great danger, they fought successfully soon after with the Carthaginian fleet at Panormus.

THE consuls shared the operations of the campaign between them. L. Metellus besieged Lilybæum and Numerius Fabius laid siege to Drepanum. CHAP. XXXVI.  
Near the latter to the south, there is an island or rather a rock which the Greeks called Peliadis<sup>a</sup>, we Columbaria. Fabius sent some of his men thither in the night who surprized the place, and put the garison in it to the sword. Hamilcar who had come to defend Drepanum, came immediately at day-break to retake it. The consul perceived his design, but not being able to come to succor his garison attacked Drepanum with all his forces. This obliged Hamilcar to return, so that Fabius kept possession of the island, and afterwards made good use of it to incommode the besieged. For he joined it to the continent by a mole, and as the walls of the city were weakest there, he raised works and begun to batter them on that side.

BUT the battles which Hamilcar fought with the consuls during this, and the following years are so many, and the fate of them so much alike, that Polybius thinks it neither necessary nor possible to enumerate them. For during the three years that this general continued encamped on mount Epiercte, there scarcely passed a single day without a skirmish between him and the Roman commanders, especially after they pitched their camp before Panormus, within five furlongs of one another. But though the nearness of the camps, occasion-

CHAP. XXXVII.

<sup>a</sup> The island of Peliadis was divided from Drepanum, only by a very small arm of the sea, or rather according to Zonaras, by a neck of marshy ground, which was overflowed by the sea. So that it was no

very difficult matter for the Roman general to throw up a ditch across this little space of ground, and thereby make a communication between the rock and the city.



CHAP. ed frequent encounters between the two armies, yet  
 xxxvii. they did not come to a decisive battle. Many rea-  
 sons concurred to prevent it, but the chief was the  
 troops on both sides being equally brave, and their  
 posts very strong, the side that was worsted in any  
 action were protected by the nearness of their camp.  
 Thus it happened that some fell in every skirmish,  
 and those who were obliged to give way retreated  
 easily to their camp. But the year that Drepanum  
 was besieged, the Carthaginian fleet infested not on-  
 ly the coast of Sicily, but the coast of Italy like-  
 wise.. Hamilcar himself plundered every place he  
 could come at, and ravaged the Italian coast as far as  
 the territories of Cumæ.

CHAP. BY these incursions and the frequent actions in  
 xxxviii. Sicily, a great number of Roman citizens were taken  
 and made slaves by the enemy, upon which the ge-  
 nerals on both sides agreed to make an exchange of  
 prisoners, upon condition that they who should re-  
 ceive more than they could deliver, should pay two  
 pounds and a half of silver per head. The Cartha-  
 ginians received the greater number and paid the  
 money according to agreement. I find the Romans  
 established two colonies in Italy this year, those of  
 Æsulum and Alsium; and that the censors A. Attilius  
 Calatinus the son of Aulus and grandson of Caius,  
 and A. Manlius Atticus the son of T. and grandson  
 of one of the same name, closed the thirty-eighth  
 lustrum. There were enrolled in it two hundred fifty-  
 one thousand, two hundred and twenty-two Roman  
 citizens; whereas in the former there were almost  
 three hundred thousand registred. So great a number  
 perished in the war and by wrecks. But this di-  
 minution of people did by no means hinder the con-  
 suls M. Ottacilius Crassus the son of Caius and grand-  
 son of Marcus for the second time, and M. Fabius  
 Licinus the son of Caius and grandson of Marcus,  
 from raising men with the usual briskness, whom they  
 carried to recruit the armies in Sicily.

M. O. Cra-  
 ssus and M.  
 Fab. Licinus  
 consuls.  
 Y. of R. 506.  
 E. J. C. 246.



THESE generals had a campaign full of action and fatigue, but as they could not drive Hamilcar from his advantageous post, they performed nothing memorable. The following consuls for the same reason had no better success; for as young generals were sent to make head against an old and experienced commander, they were forced to spend so much time in making preparations, in informing themselves of the situation of the country, of the disposition of their soldiers and the state of the war, that they had little remaining to put their designs in execution. Wherefore, when the time for the election of consuls drew nigh, they chose rather to nominate a dictator to preside in the comitia, than to recall any of the consuls out of Sicily. And for that purpose they appointed Tib. Coruncanius whose father and grandfather were of the same name dictator. He nominated M. Fulvius Flaccus the son of Quintus and grandson of Marcus his general of horse. About this time two tribunes of the people, C. Fundanius and Tib. Sempronius, cited Claudia the daughter of Appius the Blind to take her trial before the people. The charge brought against her was, that one day as she was returning from the shews in a chariot, being crouded in the press, which did not make way fast enough for her to go along, she had made this impious wish, "Would to the Gods my brother was alive, and had again the command of the Roman fleet."

CHAP.  
XL.

T. Coruncanius dictator, and M. Fulvius Flaccus general of horse.

THERE was hardly a noble family in Rome, that was not either related or allied to hers. For this reason several citizens interested themselves in her behalf, and alledged in her defence, "the nobility of her birth, the services of her father Appius, the weakness of the sex: to bring a woman before the tribunal of the people was a thing unheard of. Claudia had not been guilty of such an heinous crime as to deserve to be made an example of: she had never done any action, nor formed any design in the least dero-

CHAP.  
XLI.



CHAP.  
XLI.

gatory from the majesty of the Roman people,  
 “ and could only be blamed for uttering a few in-  
 “ discreet words.” But to this the ædiles answered  
 as follows, “ You are not ignorant, said they, Ro-  
 “ mans, what an impious and shocking expression  
 “ Claudia used, nor is it necessary for us to prove  
 “ the charge, seeing she herself hath owned it.  
 “ Neither can she deny it, if she would, because  
 “ she pronounced these words in broad day-light in  
 “ the public street, without shewing any regard to  
 “ Jupiter, witness of the transport of her fury, or to  
 “ the Roman people, against whom she vented her  
 “ imprecations. To what purpose, added they, do  
 “ we hesitate at punishing her, seeing the crime is  
 “ evident? Are not our laws express in this case?  
 “ Shall we only consider the letter of our laws,  
 “ without regarding the sense of them? They  
 “ say it is unprecedented to prosecute a woman for  
 “ a trespass of this nature. Be it so. It is also a  
 “ new thing for one of that sex to commit such  
 “ crimes; for our city never before produced one  
 “ that was guilty of so much impiety.

CHAP.  
XLII.

“ WOULD to the Gods we were under no neces-  
 “ sity to make an example of her. We would rather  
 “ chuse to let the edge of the law lye quiet and be co-  
 “ vered as it were, than to draw it against criminals in  
 “ order to punish their crimes with a severity that is  
 “ really useful, though always disagreeable to those  
 “ who are obliged to use it. But if the state desires to  
 “ stand, it must necessarily take care that it's laws  
 “ are observed, which, they who would have them-  
 “ selves looked upon to be the chiefs and pillars of  
 “ our republic, ought least of all to subvert. It is  
 “ impossible for them who are so well versed in all  
 “ branches of the law not to know, that though  
 “ there is no express mention of women in many of  
 “ our statutes, the words, *if any one*, by which they  
 “ commonly begin, equally comprehend both men  
 “ and women. What wonder is it then, if we be-  
 “ lieve that the laws which are made against treasor



“ extend to both sexes, seeing Claudia is a proof, CHAP.  
 “ that both are capable of violating them? But her LXII.  
 “ friends extenuate the crime, and would have it to  
 “ be looked upon as a small fault, because it went no  
 “ further than words. Do they wish then, that she  
 “ had accompanied her words with actions, that she  
 “ had formed designs and endeavoured to execute  
 “ them, that she had conspired with the Carthagi-  
 “ nians against her country, raised troops, armed  
 “ the slaves, seized the capitol, and by her projects  
 “ and with her own hand brought upon her fellow  
 “ citizens that destruction, which she had prayed  
 “ might fall upon them.

“ IT is certain that laws punish the design CHAP.  
 “ and intentions of criminals no less than their XLIII.  
 “ actions. And for this reason, they allow no in-  
 “ dictment against infants and madmen, for any  
 “ mischief they do ; but the intention of others,  
 “ who are not in that condition, are discovered on  
 “ many occasions, by words as well as actions. What  
 “ would not a woman do, who wishes so much ruin  
 “ to her country, if she had it in her power to ac-  
 “ complish her wishes? If we don't despise the judg-  
 “ ment of other nations, and why should we disre-  
 “ gard it? there are some of them who look upon  
 “ and punish an impious wish as treason? The  
 “ Athenians, who are esteemed the wisest people of  
 “ Greece, condemned an undertaker of funerals, who  
 “ wished only for a better sale for his goods, which  
 “ he was not like to have, unless there happened a  
 “ great mortality among his fellow-citizens. And  
 “ yet those words were capable of a more favorable  
 “ interpretation, whereas Claudia in plain terms and  
 “ without any equivocation, wished for the destruc-  
 “ tion of her fellow-citizens, the defeat of our armies  
 “ and the total ruin of the republic. WOULD TO  
 “ THE GODS, said she, THAT MY BROTHER WAS  
 “ ALIVE AGAIN! A wicked wish, even though it  
 “ proceeded from love to her brother.



## CHAP.

XLIV.

“ FOR why should life be restored to a man,  
 “ by whose means so many citizens lost theirs?  
 “ Who insolently made a jest of the republic, af-  
 “ ter he had diminished her forces by his unpa-  
 “ ralleled temerity? Who being condemned be-  
 “ forehand in the opinion of all good men, escaped  
 “ the punishment he deserved by an accident, but  
 “ not the infamy of the sentence intended to have  
 “ been passed upon him? If you was in your wits,  
 “ could you desire such a man to be restored to life  
 “ again! who ought to have desired nothing more  
 “ ardently, than that his name and memory might  
 “ be buried in the tomb that covered his ashes. For  
 “ as other ladies justly glory in the noble actions by  
 “ which their brothers have signalized themselves,  
 “ so, you should be ashamed to mention yours, if  
 “ you had any sense of shame remaining. But, let  
 “ us pardon this quality lady, if her wish was rather  
 “ foolish than impious. Nay acquit her, Romans,  
 “ if it was not as insolent and indiscreet, as the rea-  
 “ son of it was shocking and abominable. For, what  
 “ were the motives pray, Claudia, that made you  
 “ wish your brother alive again? Was it that the  
 “ sight of such a near relation would comfort you?  
 “ Was it, that you might reap advantage from his  
 “ industry, be protected by his interest, or adorn-  
 “ ed by his honors? Not one of these could be the  
 “ reason; but it was, that he might take the com-  
 “ mand of our fleet a second time! For this reason,  
 “ thou who art the most abandoned of thy sex,  
 “ wouldst have raised the dead if thou hadst been  
 “ able, yea even controled nature herself and broken  
 “ open the gates of hell, that thou mightest from  
 “ thence bring a man to complete our ruin.

## CHAP.

XLV.

“ THIS is she, Romans, in whose behalf they en-  
 “ treat your pity; but those who are so zealous to  
 “ approve themselves kind relations, are not careful  
 “ enough to prevent their being reckoned bad citi-  
 “ zens. After all no body hinders those of you to shew  
 “ her pity, who have a mind, provided she shewe



“ compassion for any of you. But if she hath wish-  
 “ ed death to some, to others grief and the loss of  
 “ every relation, if she prayed that all her fellow-  
 “ citizens might be swept away by the sword, the  
 “ plague and all manner of calamities, will any body  
 “ be so foolishly indulgent as to think that a soul so  
 “ full of hatred, rancor and inhumanity deserves  
 “ compassion? Very lately, when the censors closed  
 “ the lustrum and published the list of citizens that  
 “ were enrolled, what an universal grief and lamen-  
 “ tation was there in the city? Notwithstanding the  
 “ many advantages the republic had obtained for  
 “ some years over her enemies, yet when men of  
 “ judgment found the number of citizens so much  
 “ inferior to what they had been in the former cen-  
 “ sus, they by no means thought the state to be  
 “ in a flourishing condition. But Claudia is not sorry  
 “ at this diminution of our citizens; she is grieved  
 “ that any of them are remaining at all. She  
 “ complains that there is too great a crowd of peo-  
 “ ple at Rome. She wishes that he was alive,  
 “ through whose fault chiefly the number of citi-  
 “ zens in the last census was so much inferior to  
 “ what they were in the former. Perhaps her friends  
 “ will own that the woman herself is undeserving  
 “ of your pity; but if she hath done any thing  
 “ amiss, you ought to pardon her out of regard to  
 “ her father and forefathers.

“ SHALL we then make it a law in our state, that CHAP.  
 “ if a man can only be said to have been in any mea- XLVI.  
 “ sure serviceable to his country, his posterity may  
 “ therefore do hurt to it with impunity? These were  
 “ by no means the sentiments of our ancestors, who  
 “ threw M. Manlius headlong from the Tarpeian rock,  
 “ though it was he himself, and not his father or  
 “ grandfather, who saved the capitol, the last resource  
 “ of the Roman people. The highest recompence  
 “ that a man, who serves his country, ought to  
 “ aim at, is the consciousness of having done his  
 “ duty. However if Ap. Claudius did the republic



## CHAP.

XLVI.



“ any important services, he was abundantly re-  
 “ warded for them, being loaded with wealth and  
 “ glutted with honors which he enjoyed to a very  
 “ great old age. After all, perhaps it had been  
 “ more prudent in the lady’s partizans not to have  
 “ mentioned Appius and the other Claudii, than to  
 “ have revived the memory of the cruel and op-  
 “ pressive injuries done you by a family which from  
 “ it’s original hath always been a mortal ene-  
 “ my to the people. For what other Appius would  
 “ they have you call to remembrance, but him who  
 “ constantly opposed your interests, who chose ra-  
 “ ther to perish with his army, than to be saved  
 “ by a plebeian consul, his own colleague, who ob-  
 “ stinately held the censorship beyond the legal time  
 “ in spite of all the orders of the republic?

## CHAP.

XLVII.



“ LET them, if they please, trace the services of  
 “ the Claudian family, with which they upbraid the  
 “ Roman people, further, and let them go back  
 “ to the time of the decemviri, or even to the ori-  
 “ ginal of the house. They will by this review be  
 “ rather enabled plainly to see how this woman re-  
 “ sembles her ancestors in pride and insolence, than  
 “ find any thing to prove that they ought to par-  
 “ don her on their account. What reason have her  
 “ friends either brought, or can any man bring why  
 “ she should commit crimes with impunity? None,  
 “ but that perhaps they are afraid lest our republic  
 “ should lose a lady of such exemplary conversation.  
 “ But if you are under the same apprehensions too,  
 “ Romans, pray keep this Claudia, that when the  
 “ republic shall be in distress, and our ladies shall  
 “ go to the temple of the Gods to implore their  
 “ mercy, she may by her imprecations hinder their  
 “ pious prayers from taking effect. That while  
 “ they are offering up petitions for the preserva-  
 “ tion of your armies, she may pray for their de-  
 “ struction. While they wish to see them return  
 “ safe, she may desire to hear that they are defeat-  
 “ ed, slaughtered and totally destroyed. While

“ the



“ they beseech the Gods to spare the lives of your  
“ soldiers in war, she may repine if many of them  
“ should return alive.

“ KEEP this woman, that whereas other ladies  
“ are wont to animate their children and kinsmen  
“ to the love of their country and their fellow-  
“ citizens, by setting before them the example of  
“ illustrious men for their imitation, she may teach  
“ hers, after the example of P. Claudius, to fight  
“ inconsiderately, to fly shamefully, to destroy their  
“ fellow-citizens wickedly, and to despise the re-  
“ public insolently. That she may prescribe these  
“ lessons to be learnt by the children of your nobi-  
“ lity, and imitated by them when they come to  
“ riper years, that the minds of those to whom  
“ you commit your fleets and armies may be sea-  
“ soned with those excellent principles.” After  
hearing the arguments on both sides, the people by  
their suffrages condemned her to pay a fine of twenty  
five thousand asses of brass<sup>a</sup>. With this and other  
money raised by fines, Tib. Sempronius the ædile  
built the temple of Liberty on the hill Aventinus,  
and consecrated the same. Then M. Fabius Buteo,  
whose father and grandfather were of the same  
name, and C. Atilius Bulbus, whose father and grand-  
father had the name of Aulus, entered into the con-  
sulate. About this time a colony was transplanted  
to Fregellæ, a maritime town of Hetruria, nine  
miles from Alifium, a colony established two years  
before.

CHAP.

XLVIII.

M. Fabius  
Buteo and C.  
At. Bulbus  
consuls.  
Y. of R. 507.  
B. J. C. 245.

IN their consulship the Romans had a bloody  
battle with the Carthaginians at sea, which in the  
end proved fatal to both. For the latter lost a great  
number of men and galleys, and the victorious fleet  
of the former lost in a violent storm all the rich  
spoils they had taken from the enemy. Affairs were  
conducted in Italy much in the same manner, and  
with the like success, that they were the preceding  
year, for the consuls found it a hard matter to en-

CHAP.

XLIX.

<sup>a</sup> 80l. 14 s. 7 d. Arbuthnot.



CHAP. counter the ruggedness of the country, but the  
 XLIX. valor and address of Hamilcar, who was thorough-  
 ly master of all the stratagems of war, as well as  
 bold in enterprizing, gave them much more trouble.  
 It was at this time that he employed those talents  
 which I have mentioned before, and thereby not  
 only maintained the places which he had taken, and  
 ravaged the lands of the Roman allies on the coasts  
 of Italy and Sicily, but also having nobler designs al-  
 ways in view, supported the affairs of his country that  
 were every where in a declining state, by his acti-  
 vity, steadiness and prudence in pursuing the best  
 measures which every opportunity offered. Having  
 resolved to relieve the people of Lilybæum that was  
 closely blockaded by land, from the scarcity of pro-  
 visions and fears of future wants, he ordered part  
 of his fleet to appear in the open sea, and to seem to  
 steer, as it were for that place. As soon as the Ro-  
 mans perceived this squadron, they crowded all their  
 sail to come up with it ; in the mean time he him-  
 self with some ships, which he had concealed on  
 purpose, entered the port, and by his presence and  
 the provisions which he brought them in abundance,  
 mightily revived the courage of the besieged, and  
 animated them for the future.

CHAP. WHILE the war in Sicily was spun out in this  
 L. manner, A. Manlius Torquatus, whose father and  
 grandfather had the name of Titus, and C. Sem-  
 pronius Blæsus, whose father and grandfather had  
 the name of Tiberius, consuls for the second time,  
 came to take the command of the army. At this  
 juncture both parties could not be so properly said  
 to change the operations of the war, as to pursue  
 their plan more closely than ever. The Romans, as we  
 observed before, had posted a body of troops on the  
 top of mount Eryx, above the city, and another  
 below it at the foot of the hill ; besides, the town  
 was so strongly fortified by nature and art, and so  
 well secured by a garison and these other posts, that  
 they seemed to have nothing to fear from any at-  
 tempts

A. M. Tor-  
 quatus and  
 C. Semp.  
 Blæsus  
 consuls.  
 Y. of R. 508.  
 B. J. C. 244.



tempts of the enemy against it. But the boldness of Hamilcar, who suffered nothing to be too hard for him which he had a mind to undertake, surmounted all these obstacles in a very short time. He set out in the night at the head of his troops, and marching them thirty furlongs up the mountain surprized the city unawares, put the greatest part of those he found in it to the sword, and sent the rest to Drepanum. And then the war took another turn, and the duty of the soldiers became very severe. For Hamilcar being posted between two bodies of the enemy, was besieged by that below him, while he at the same time besieged that above him.

CHAP.

L.

BOTH the Romans and Carthaginians underwent incredible fatigues and dangers, being daily, nay hourly, either encountering one another, or afraid of being attacked. They for almost two years together gave the strongest proofs of the most consummate prudence and heroic valor. Neither side was tired out or gave ground, nor did they quit their post either when they gained a victory or received a defeat, but being equal and invincible to the last referred the decision of this bloody war to a sea-fight. In this consulship a colony was established in the territory of the Sallentines, twenty years after that country had submitted to the republic. About the same time Tiberius Coruncanius, the first plebeian who had been promoted to the dignity of pontifex maximus, died in a very advanced age, and L. Cæcilius Metellus was chosen in his stead. In the mean time the consular authority was entrusted to C. Fundanius Fundulus, the son of Caius and grandson of Quintus, and to C. Sulpicius Gallus, the son of Caius and grandson of Servius.

CHAP.

LI.

C. Fund.  
Fundulus  
and C. Sul.  
Gallus  
consuls.  
Y. of R. 509.  
B. J. C. 343.

THESE two generals prosecuted the war against Hamilcar in the same manner, and with the same success as their predecessors had done, except that some Gauls and other mercenaries in the service of the Carthaginians, dissatisfied at not receiving their pay, and at some injurious treatment they had met with, attempted

CHAP.

LII.



CHAP.

LII.

tempted to deliver up the city Eryx, where they kept garison, to the Romans; but their design being frustrated, they revolted to the consuls, and were the first foreigners that were admitted to carry arms in the service of the republic. But notwithstanding these additional forces, the consuls were not able to put an end to the war by land, obstructed chiefly by the courage of Hamilcar, whom they could neither surprize by stratagem nor subdue by force. The consideration of this made the senate resolve to equip a fleet anew and to venture to sea again. They were convinced that the only way to drive the Carthaginians from Sicily, was to take from them the empire of the sea, and the advantages which private adventurers had some years before gained over the enemy, inspired them with the greatest hopes of success. But they had no money, for the treasury was already exhausted, and could scarce support the expence of this tedious war. At this pressing juncture, the Roman manners seasonably supplied the republic in her distress.

CHAP.

LIII.

AND the generosity of the senate was so great on this occasion, that they were ashamed to spare their private fortunes when the public was in danger, and contributed more money instantly than was necessary for fitting out a fleet. Some paid for a whole quinquere, sometimes two, sometimes three, according to their ability, joined to build a galley, rig her completely and man her with rowers, upon condition that the republic should repay them, when her finances should be in better order. By this expedient and the care of the fathers a fleet of two hundred quinqueremes was fitted out, which they caused to be built after the model of the galley they had taken from Hannibal the Rhodian. This grand armament greatly raised the expectations of the public, for every body was persuaded that as the state had made it's last effort, this fleet must necessarily determine the fate of the war.

CHAP.

LIV.

DURING these preparations, C. Lutatius Catulus whose father and grandfather had the name of Caius an



# Book XVIII. by TITUS LIVIUS.

and A. Posthumius Alvinus the son of Aulus and grandson of Lucius entered into the consulship. The latter was the high priest of Mars, wherefore when he presented himself to draw lots for the provinces, L. Cæcilius Metellus the pontifex maximus declared it unlawful for him to be absent from his sacred function, and expressly forbade him to leave it under the pain of fining him. This became a precedent which was religiously observed ever after. At the same time the senate gave another instance of their strict care to maintain the religion of their forefathers, by forbidding C. Lutatius the consul to consult the lots of Præneste<sup>a</sup>, or to use any foreign auspices in matters regarding the public. Then they turned their thoughts to the management of the campaign, and as the service of the Gods obliged one of the consuls to remain at Rome and the whole burden of the war being judged too great for the other, they thought it advisable to nominate two prætors for the first time, and to send one of them with Lutatius. It fell by lot to Q. Valerius Falto to go to the army. These two generals having carefully got together all the ships belonging to the republic, and to private persons, made up a fleet of about three hundred galleys, and with pontons and other vessels, they sailed for Sicily, as soon as the season of the year would permit.

ON their arrival, they immediately entered the ports of Drepanum and Lilybæum without opposition. For the enemy not suspecting that any fleet would come against them from Italy, had retired with all their ships to Africa. The consul encouraged by this happy beginning of the campaign, and being naturally active and enterprizing, raised the necessary works for the siege of Drepanum, and carried it on with the greatest vigor. And being convinced that he would be quickly obliged to engage the Carthaginians at sea, he applied himself to exercise his rowers and the soldiers which were to serve on board

411

CHAP.  
LIV.

C. Lutat.  
Catulus and  
A. Posth.  
Albinus  
consuls.  
Y. of R. 510.  
B. J. C. 242.

CHAP.  
LV

<sup>a</sup> The lots were generally a sort of tablets, which, as the priests pretended, contained mysteries.

daily,



CHAP. daily, with so much diligence and success, that those  
 LV. whom he had brought with him quite ignorant in maritime affairs were in a short time sufficiently qualified, and ready to execute any enterprize. In the mean time Drepanum being besieged both by sea and land, a breach was made in the wall, and the place was upon the point of being taken, when the consul fighting bravely at the head of his men, was dangerously wounded in the thigh. His men were terrified at the danger they saw their general in, and running to his relief abandoned the city after they had almost made themselves masters of it.

CHAP. HE was not yet able to walk, when notice was  
 LVI. brought him that the Carthaginian fleet was on the coast. It consisted of four hundred sail laden with provisions for the army, and had on board a vast number of soldiers, besides a prodigious quantity of money and arms. It was commanded by Hanno a noble Carthaginian. His great design was to land at Eryx, unlade his ships, take on board Hamilcar's brave old troops and then engage the Roman fleet. But though these measures were excellently laid, they were quite disconcerted by the vigilance and prudence of Lutatius. He judged that the victory would depend on his fighting their fleet, while their ships were laden and encumbered with their warlike stores, and accordingly taking the best of his soldiers on board on the ninth of march, sailed directly for the islands Ægates opposite to Lilybæum, where he discovered Hanno coming from the island of Hiera. Upon this he encouraged his pilots and soldiers, and ordered them to prepare for a battle the next day. But next morning, he was in a doubt how he should behave, because the wind which had been favorable for the Romans, had changed in the night and blew directly against him.

CHAP. WHEREFORE after having duly considered  
 LVII. the matter, it was thought better to fight Hanno alone, while his ships were heavy laden, even though he had the advantage of the wind, than to suffer him



to unlade them and to take on board the flower of their land forces, and bring along with him Hamilcar himself, who was then a most formidable object to the Romans. Accordingly upon seeing the enemy's fleet pursuing their voyage before the wind, he sailed out of port, and to animate his men, though he could not walk, he ordered himself to be carried on board the Prætorian galley. The Carthaginians likewise seeing their way to Lilybæum blocked up, drew up their ships in line of battle and resolved to break through by force. When the signal was given, both sides engaged with great ardor: Q. Valerius performed all the duties of a commander, the consul's wound having disabled him from acting. The battle had not lasted long, when it appeared to which side the victory inclined.

CHAP.  
LVII.

FOR the Roman galleys being light and not over burthened freely attacked the Carthaginian ships that were heavy and almost unmoveable, and besides were superior to them in every thing else. For the Romans having learnt by experience, what were the defects that had proved so detrimental to their naval affairs, had altered and corrected them. They had built their ships according to the most perfect model, and carefully removed every thing that might incommode them during the action. Their rowers were strong and well disciplined, and the flower of their legionary soldiers contributed very much to the gaining the day. On the other hand the Carthaginian vessels were heavy with the cargoes they had on board, and as they were apprehensive of no danger from a Roman fleet, because they imagined they would never put another to sea, their rowers were newly levied and they had been very negligent in the choice of them. Accordingly, as the combatants were so unequal, the victory was not long doubtful. The Carthaginians lost one hundred and twenty ships, seventy of which with their crews amounting to ten thousand men, were taken; the wind happening to change very luckily for them in the time of the action,

CHAP.  
LVIII.



action, the rest of their fleet escaped to the island of Hier<sup>a</sup>.

CHAP.  
LIX.

SUCH was the signal overthrow which the Carthaginians suffered at the islands *Ægates*<sup>a</sup>, according to Polybius. For other historians report that the Carthaginians had seventy three ships taken, one hundred and twenty five sunk, thirty two thousand men made prisoners and thirteen thousand slain. The Romans got a prodigious plunder not only of provisions and arms, but also of gold and silver, and lost only thirteen ships. They say that a comet appeared at the beginning of the action above the Roman fleet, and seeming to threaten the Carthaginians with it's point directed towards them, was looked upon as a presage of what soon befel them. Hanno having returned to Carthage with the remainder of his fleet, except some ships that had got into the port of Lilybæum, was beheaded on account of his bad success. But C. Lutatius the consul upon his return to the army at Lilybæum, while his wound was a curing, employed himself in taking an exact list of the ships and prisoners he had taken, and in giving proper orders for the disposal of them. From thence he marched to Eryx, where he defeated Hamilcar, and slew two thousand of his men.

CHAP.  
LX.

AFTER all, when the Carthaginians came to know the greatness of their loss, they wanted not courage to renew the war, but money and troops. For they could not supply their army at Eryx with necessaries, while the Romans were masters at sea, and if they lost that, they had neither any more forces nor any other general in whom they could confide. The necessity they were reduced to drove

<sup>a</sup> One of the *Ægades*. See below n. a.

<sup>a</sup> Ptolemy places the *Ægades* over against Drepanum and Lilybæum. He reckons up three of them; *Phorban-tia*, or *Bucania*, according to Pliny; *Ægusa*, or *Capraria*; and *Hiera*, or *Sacra*, which is also called *Maritima*. By Ptolemy's description of them,

the first seems to be that which is now called *Levenzo*. One of the two others is now called *Favignana*, the other *Maretano*; that is, one of these three islands is called the island of Heifers; another the island of Goats; and the third, the Sacred Island.



them to despair, so that they sent full powers to Hamilcar, to do whatever he thought advisable for the public good. Nor did he shew less of the patriot than he had done of the accomplished general. For after considering every method that could be taken to save his country, and seeing that peace was the only resource left, he sent a deputation to the consul to sue for it. Lutatius heard the proposition with joy. For as his office was nigh expired, he could not hope to attain to a higher pitch of glory, than to put an end to the war by himself on any terms. Besides as he seemed to have given it the finishing stroke, he thought it a thing unadvised and absurd to leave that honor to another. He was further prompted to listen to a peace by the great straits to which he knew the Romans were reduced, and was sensible that the republic wanted some time to recruit itself, after the severe toils it had undergone for so many years without intermission.

ACCORDINGLY after they had disputed for some time about the articles of peace, they agreed  
 “ That the Carthaginians should entirely abandon  
 “ Sicily. They should not make war on Hiero, the  
 “ Syracusans, or their allies. They should instantly  
 “ deliver up all the Roman prisoners and deserters  
 “ without ransom. They should pay two thousand  
 “ two hundred <sup>a</sup> talents of Eubœa of pure silver in  
 “ the space of twenty years, in equal payments.  
 “ The allies of neither nation should be molested.  
 “ Neither republic should assume any authority, nor  
 “ have a power to erect any public building, nor  
 “ raise mercenaries in the dominions of the other.  
 “ That neither of them should conclude any treaty  
 “ of friendship and alliance with the allies of the  
 “ other state.” To which it was added, “ That  
 “ these conditions should be valid, provided the  
 “ Roman people should ratify them.” But though

<sup>a</sup> 437250 l. according to Arbuthnot. The Eubœic talent was the same with the Attic. The talent was worth 60 minæ, and each minæ worth 100 drachmæ.



Lutatius strenuously insisted that the garison of Eryx should deliver up their arms, Hamilcar would by no means consent to it, for he protested, “ he would  
 “ rather sacrifice himself and his country, than sub-  
 “ mit to such an affront.” However he agreed  
 “ that all his soldiers should march out of Eryx with  
 “ him, upon his paying eighteen denarii<sup>b</sup>, for each  
 “ of them.”

CHAP.  
 LXII.

THEN the consul dispatched his deputies with those of the Carthaginians to Rome, to lay the conditions of peace before the senate and Roman people. The latter did not approve of them, but appointed ten commissioners to go and examine matters upon the spot, and at their return, they made the terms harder, for they insisted, “ That the Carthaginians  
 “ should immediately pay one thousand talents and  
 “ two thousand two hundred in the next ten years.  
 “ They should not only evacuate Sicily, but also all  
 “ the islands between it and Italy; and that they  
 “ should never bring any ships of war into the ports  
 “ of Italy, or into any of the islands belonging to  
 “ Rome, nor hire mercenaries in those places.” The Carthaginians in order to procure a peace accepted all these new conditions. Hamilcar immediately resigned his command, before the solemn ratification of it by oath, set out for Lilybæum and from thence returned to Carthage, after having proved himself to be the ablest general both in conduct and courage, that his country had employed in that war. In this manner was the first Punic war carried on and finished after it had lasted twenty four years, through a great variety of accidents and terrible losses on both sides, but greater on the part of those who came off victorious at last.

CHAP.  
 LXIII.

FOR they who have taken an exact account of the number of ships that were destroyed in this war, have computed that the Carthaginians lost five hundred quinqueremes and the Romans seven hundred. This is a clear proof of the surprizing constancy of

<sup>a</sup> x s. 7 d. half-peny. Arbuthnot.



the latter, which could neither be daunted by the loss of battles or other calamities, but bravely stood the efforts of the enemy, the shocks of fortune, the fatigues of a tedious war, the poverty of the treasury and at last, by patience got the better of them all.

CHAP.  
LXIII.

They continued C. Lutatius Catulus, after the expiration of his consulship, in the command of the army, that he might settle affairs in Sicily, and sent Q. Lutatius Cerco his brother, the son and grandson of Caius, one of the new consuls and colleague of A. Manlius Torquatus son and grandson of Titus, to act in conjunction with him. The two Lutatii regulated and quite composed all the affairs of that island, by rooting up and removing the numerous causes of disturbances that had sprung up in it, during the violent convulsions it had suffered in the late war. For they disarmed the Sicilians, who had been in the interest of Hamilcar and the Gauls, who had revolted from him. The latter were put on board some ships, and transported out of the dominions of the republic, because, besides committing several other outrages, they had robbed the temple of Venus, when they were garisoned in the city Eryx.

Q. L. Cerco  
and A. M.  
Torquatus  
consuls.  
Y. of R. 511.  
B. J. C. 241.

THEY imposed tributes and taxes on all the cities of Sicily, according to the value of their estates; and the country was made a province, which was governed by a prætor sent thither yearly from Rome. During these transactions, the Carthaginian deputies came to Rome, “to demand permission to ransom their prisoners;” and by a decree of senate, those that were in public custody were delivered up to them gratis, and they had liberty to ransom those who were in the hands of private persons for a certain sum of money, the greatest part of which was paid out of the public treasury. But the joy of the Roman people, for the conclusion of this glorious peace, was greatly diminished by some sad accidents that happened in the city. For first, the Tiber rising higher than ordinary overflowed all the lower parts of the city with it’s waters, which stagnated

CHAP.  
LXIV.



CHAP. there in large pools. The violence of the flood at  
 LXIV. first beat down many houses, and those that stood  
 that shock being gradually undermined by the inundation, which lasted several days, tumbled down after the waters had subsided. This calamity was followed by a greater. For a fire broke out suddenly in the night, which spread through many wards of the city, and consumed an incredible number of houses and inhabitants, and not content with having destroyed the dwellings of particular persons, it consumed all the magnificent buildings round the forum.

CHAP. AT last the temple of Vesta took fire. Upon  
 LXV. which, L. Cæcilius Metellus, the pontifex maximus, seeing the sacred monuments of religion and the secret pledges of empire in danger of being consumed, gave a proof of courage worthy of his station. For he rushed into the middle of the flames, not regarding his own safety, provided he could save the sacred things that had been left there by the vestals, which accordingly he did. He had his arm half burnt and lost his sight entirely. Howbeit, besides the consciousness of having done his duty, the people conferred on him a glorious recompence, for they allowed him to be carried to the senate-house in a chariot, which was a mark of a distinction that had never been granted to any other, since the building of the city. In the mean time, Q. Lutatius the consul with his brother Catulus, and Q. Valerius the proprætor having settled the affairs of Sicily, were come to Rome with their army. So that C. Lutatius Catulus and Q. Valerius obtained the honor of a naval triumph, which had been voted them by the senate.

CHAP. THE former entered the city on the fourth, and  
 LXVI. the latter on the sixth of October, after a warm dispute between them about the triumph of Q. Valerius. For this honor having been granted to Lutatius without opposition, Valerius pretended that he had contributed no less than the consul to the



gaining the victory over the enemy, he ought to share the glory, as he had done the labors and dangers of it. Catullus, on the contrary alledged, that in the distribution of honors, the inferior officer should not be put on a level with the superior. The dispute growing warm, Q. Valerius offered to lay a wager, “that the Carthaginian fleet was defeated by his conduct.” Catulus having cheerfully accepted the offer, the dispute was referred to the arbitration of Atilius Calatinus, who addressed himself to Valerius thus, “If when you came to deliberate about the battle, you had happened to differ, whether the authority of the consul or prætor ought to have prevailed? And if your auspices had been contrary to his, by which of them would you have been governed.” When Valerius replied, “that in both cases, he ought to have submitted to the superior authority of the consul,” the arbitrator without hearing Catulus speak, determined in favor of him, adding, that the controversy seemed to him to turn upon the point of authority and the auspices. Nevertheless though Calatinus gave it against him, Valerius, in consideration of his eminent services and bravery in that war, obtained the honor of a triumph.

THIS year, the censors C. Aurelius Cotta and M. Fabius Buteo closed the thirty-ninth lustrum. Two hundred and sixty thousand citizens were enrolled, and by the addition of two tribes, the Velinal and Quirinal, the number was made up to thirty-five, which hath continued ever since. After the reduction of all that part of Sicily, which had belonged to the Carthaginians, and the conclusion of the peace with that republic, when Rome seemed not only quiet for the present, but even out of all danger for the future, a flame suddenly breaking out whence it was least expected, terrified all Italy with the fears of an intestine war, and surprized every body no less when they saw it terminated in a very few days. The Falisci hurried on by an odd kind



CHAP. of phrenzy had the boldness to attack the Romans.  
 LXVII. But the consuls having marched with the legions  
 against them, finished the war in six days, by the  
 entire reduction of that nation. In the first battle,  
 for they are said to have engaged twice, the vic-  
 tory was doubtful, because their foot had the advan-  
 tage, though their horse were defeated. Howbeit  
 in the last action they were entirely defeated, and  
 obliged to sue for peace after the loss of fifteen  
 thousand of their youth.

CHAP. UPON their surrender, their arms, horses,  
 LXVIII. household furniture, slaves and one half of their lands  
 were taken from them. And as the fortifications of  
 their city had made them so bold as to take arms  
 against the republic, the town was removed from  
 the eminence where it stood, which was very steep  
 and almost inaccessible, into the plain. The Roman  
 people would have punished them more severely;  
 but while they were preparing to wreck their ven-  
 geance on a city that had rendred itself odious to  
 them on account of it's frequent rebellions, Papirius,  
 who by order of the consuls had drawn up the arti-  
 cles of surrendry moderated their resentment, by tell-  
 ing them, "that the Falisci had not surrendered  
 themselves at discretion, but cast themselves upon  
 the honor of the republic:" and such an effect had  
 this word HONOR on their minds, that they agreed  
 they ought for it's sake to pass no severer sentence  
 against them. The happy conclusion of this war  
 made them close the year with two consular triumphs.  
 Q. Lutatius triumphed over the Falisci the twenty-  
 eighth of February, and Q. Manlius the fourth of  
 March.

End of the NINETEENTH BOOK.



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JOHN FREINSHEIM'S  
SUPPLEMENT  
TO THE  
ROMAN HISTORY  
BY

TITUS LIVIUS of *Padua*.

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DECADE II. BOOK XX.

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*A colony settled at Spoletum. An army led for the first time against the Ligurians. The Sardinians and Corsicans revolt and are subdued. Tutia a vestival virgin condemned for incontinence. War declared against the Illyrians for having killed an ambassador who had been sent to them. They are conquered and subjected to the Roman government. The number of prætors augmented to four. The Transalpine Gauls, who make an irruption into Italy, cut to pieces. In that war the army of the Romans and their allies the Latines is said to have been complete three hundred thousand men. Then first of all the Romans pass the Po in arms, where the Insubrian Gauls, after several overthrows, submit to them. M. Claudius Marcellus the consul kills Viridomaris their general, and brings back the opima spolia. The Istrians are subdued. The Illyrians revolt and are reduced to subjection. The censors complete a lustrum, and the number of citizens registered amounts to two hundred seventy thousand two hundred and thirteen. The freedmen who had hitherto been dispersed into the other tribes, are now cast into four, the Esquiline, Palatine, Suburan, and Colline. The censor C. Flaminius repairs the Flaminian way, and builds the Flaminian Circus. Colonies settled at Placentia and Cremona.*



CHAP. I. ITALY being again at peace, the luxury and licentiousness of the Roman state increased with its domain and the tranquillity it enjoy'd. For, whereas hitherto satires<sup>a</sup> had only been exhibited on the stage, Livius Andronicus<sup>b</sup>, in imitation of the comedies and tragedies of the Greeks, introduced regular plays, which were first acted in the consulate of C. Claudius Centho, son of A. Publius, and grandson of Caius, and M. Sempronius Tuditanus, son of Caius, and grandson of Marcus. The same year on the twenty-eighth of April, were the Floralia<sup>c</sup> celebrated according to the form pre-

C. Claudius Centho and M. Semp. Tuditanus consuls.

Y. of R. 512.  
B. J. C. 240.

<sup>a</sup> Fortunatian makes the Greeks the authors of the Saturnian verses. Others give that honor to the Latins; and pretend, that they took their name from the city of Saturnia, in Tuscany. Some moderns make no difference between the Saturnian and Fescennine verses; and the obscenity of the latter, and the nearness of the two cities of Saturnia and Fescennia, to one another, confirms this conjecture. Some say, the Saturnian verses were very early in use, and that for this reason, they were called by that name, as if they had been first invented, as early as Saturn's time. Ennius seems to intend to shew the antiquity of this gross way of making verses, in the following lines.

*Scripsere alii rem  
Versibus, quos olim Fauni vatesque  
canebant,  
Cum neque Musarum Scopulis quisquam  
superarat  
Nec dicti studiosius erat.*

Such, says Ennius, were the verses, the fauni and old poets sung. The sanctuary of the muses was not yet opened; nor the beauties of language known. Terentianus Maurus mentions two sorts of Saturnian verses. The first were, according to him, a confused jumble of all sorts of verses, according to the poet's fancy, and the nature of his subject. Afterwards, this licentiousness was reduced to a-

nachreonticks, of three feet and an half, and choraics of three feet; which alternately followed one another.

<sup>b</sup> St. Jerom, in his chronicle, gives Livius Andronicus the prænomens of Titus; and Scaliger gives him that of Marcus, in his notes on that work. But we chose to follow Aulus Gellius, and Cassiodorus, who give this poet the prænomens of Livius. Coelius Rhodiginus Simber, La Popeliniere, and Glandorpius, falsely suppose, that Andronicus wrote eighteen books of Roman history, in verse. It is plain, as Vossius observes, in his first book of the Latin historians, that these three writers were imposed on by an incorrect passage of the third book of Diomedes. This passage, as related by John Cæsarius, makes Livy the author of the history which belonged of right to Ennius as we learn from Varro, as quoted by Aulus Gellius, b. 17. c. 21. This poet was the freedman of Marcus Livius Salinator, whose children he had educated. His poetry was grown obsolete in Cicero's time, and, in the judgment of that orator, would not bear a second reading. Terentianus Maurus affirms, that Andronicus wrote a piece in heroic verse: and Festus quotes two hexameters, which he says were this poet's, though they were really taken from Ennius's annals.

<sup>c</sup> Flora was a famous courtesan who, by her beauty, became first



prescribed in the Sybilline books, in order to avert the blasting of the corns and all other fruits which are in blossom at that season. The two brothers, L. and M. Publicii Malleoli, who were then plebeian ædiles, had the care of celebrating these games, the expence whereof they defray'd out of the fines, they laid on those who had fed their flocks in the pastures belonging to the public. The magistracy of these two brothers was likewise remarkable on another account, for they made a way<sup>d</sup> over a rising ground, from them afterwards called the Publician Cliff, that wheel'd carriages, which had formerly been incommoded by a steep and rugged rock in this place, might pass with greater ease from the city to the Aventine hill. Their memory is likewise preserved by the temple<sup>e</sup> which they built to the goddess Flora, near the circus maximus.

CHAP.  
I.

THESE were the transactions at home. Every thing was quiet abroad; excepting that they suspected the Gauls and Ligurians<sup>a</sup> were meditating a war.

CHAP.  
II.

As

the mistress, and afterwards the wife, and heiress of one Tarutius. By her prostitutions, and the liberality of her husband, she heaped up great riches, and left them all to the Roman people, upon condition, that they would annually celebrate her birth-day with games. But games were religious ceremonies, and Rome did not think it decent to commemorate a prostitute with ceremonies appropriated to the worship of the Gods. In order therefore to save the benefaction, and at the same time perform, in appearance at least, the conditions of it, the Romans gave the name of Flora, which was the name of the courtesan, to the Goddess, who presided over the fruits of trees, when they are in flower. Not to abolish entirely the memory of the institutress, and her profession, the most infamous licentiousness was allowed to be practised at the games. The persons chiefly concerned in them, were public prostitutes, who celebrated the birth-day of Flora, by appearing naked, and using the most impious gestures; and in the night,

which was made as light as the day with illuminations, they gave themselves up to the most abominable impurities.

<sup>d</sup> This way reached, say some, from the ox-market, or, according to Festus, from that part of the hill Palatinus, which was called Velia, to the hill Aventinus. The street was called Clivus Publicius. Pighius thinks, the word Velia may have crept into the text of Festus, instead of Vehia, a term borrowed from the Osce, which signified a carriage, or waggon.

<sup>e</sup> This temple was built, according to Tacitus, in the second book of his annals, near the great circus: and, according to him, Tiberius repaired it.

<sup>a</sup> Prophane authors carry up the origin of the Ligures, as they do that of other nations in Greece and Italy, to the fabulous heroes of antiquity, in order thereby to give the nation the greater lustre. But we shall, without losing time about those chimerical traditions, only mention the most rational accounts the ancient



## CHAP.

## II.

As there are no ancient historians remaining to furnish us with authentic testimonies of these things, we can only give it as our conjecture, without be-

geographers have given us of their origin, and the boundaries of their country. Dion. Halicarn. confesses, that it is uncertain whether they were originally Gauls or Italians. Strabo, Geog. b. 2. speaking of the several nations who settled along the Alpes, says, that they all came from Gallia Celtica, except the Ligures. But the greatest number of writers are of a contrary opinion to these. Most of the Greeks, as Strabo himself confessed, gave the name of Ligures to the people called Salyes; who inhabited a part of that canton of Transalpine Gaul, which is now the sea-coast of Provence. Ptolemy places them in the territory where the cities of Aix, Arles, and Tarocon now stand. According to Strabo, all the country between the Mediterranean, and the Durance, was inhabited by the Salyes. Besides, the Lævi, the Taurini, the Allobroges, and the Libici, all originally Gauls, were parts of the same national body as the Ligures. And lastly, Pliny and Livy comprehend, under the general name of Ligures, the Lævi, who lived beyond the Po, in the neighborhood of Pavia: and Polybius and Livy both assure us, that the Lævi came from Gallia Celtica. Cluver in his *Ital. antiqua*, finds some traces of this origin in the word *bodencus*; which, according to Pliny and Polybius, was the name the Ligures gave the Po, to express the depth of it. This geographer observes, that the word *boden* is now used by the Germans, to signify the bottom of a vessel, or of a river. Now it is manifest, that the nations who possessed the vast regions of the Germans, were originally so many branches of the ancient Celtæ, as the same author proves at large, in his *Germania antiqua*. He also observes, after Servius, that the city of Pisa was anciently called *Teuta*, and it's inhabitants *Teutæ*: terms borrowed, says Cluver, from the word *theuth*, which was the appellation the ancient Celtæ gave the

supreme Being. As to the boundaries of Old Liguria, they were different, at different times. Scylax gives the names of Liguria, to the country which reached from the Rhone to the Arno, that is, to the confines of Etruria. Augustus confined it within a narrower compass. It was, in his time, bounded to the east, by the river Macra; to the west, by the Var, and the maritime Alpes; to the south, by the Ligurian sea; and to the north, by the country of the Insubres. But at the time we are here speaking of, this province comprehended that whole tract of ground, which lay between the Arne, the Apennines, the country of the Ananes, the Po, the maritime Alpes, and the Ligurian sea. The chief cantons of Liguria were possessed by those who were called Ligures montani, or the Ligures of the mountains; the Ligures apuani; and the Ligures of the sea-coasts, which are now called, the coast of Genoa. The latter were called Ligures capellati, because they wore their hair long. The Ligures apuani were so called from one of their chief cities, which the ancient geographers call Apua. It stood at the foot of the Apennines, near the river Macra. The territory of these latter was bounded by that of the Etrurians, towards the mouth of the Arno. At present, Liguria properly so called, that is, which reaches from the Var to the Macra, contains the marquisate of Saluzzo, a part of Piedmont and Montferrat, all the coast of Genoa, the lordship of Mourgues, part of the country of Nice, and that part of the duchy of Milan, which is on this side the Po. Diodorus Siculus, and Strabo, describe the ancient Ligures, as a savage and barbarous people, situated in an ungrateful and barren soil. They were used to live upon very little, and inured themselves from their youth, to an hard and laborious kind of life, to furnish themselves with necessaries.



ing able to support it by historical proofs, that the consuls had these nations assigned them as their provinces, and that the war with the Gauls begun at this time. However this we are certain of, that a Latine colony was sent to Spoletum in Umbria. We can likewise affirm, upon better grounds, that there was not peace next year because the temple of Janus was not shut, than we can point out the seat or real issue of the war. And the most memorable event of the consulate of C. Mamilius Turinus, whose father and grandfather were both surnamed Quintus, and Q. Valerius Falto, son of Quintus and grandson of Publius, is the birth of Ennius, the first elegant poet among the Romans. But the following year, in the consulate of Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, son of Tiberius and grandson of Cneius, and P. Valerius Falto, son of Quintus and grandson of Publius, the war with the Gauls broke out afresh, and an army was led against a new enemy the Ligurians. The province of the latter fell to Ti. Sempronius.

C. Mamil.  
Turinus and  
Q. Val. Falto  
consuls.  
Y. of R. 513.  
B. J. C. 239.

Ti. Semp.  
Gracchus  
and P. Val.  
Falto  
consuls.  
Y. of R. 514.  
B. J. C. 238.

P. VALERIUS attacked the Gauls and was defeated in the first battle, with the loss of three thousand five hundred men. But in the second he obtained a glorious victory, for fourteen thousand Gauls were slain and two thousand taken prisoners. But he was refused a triumph on account of his former defeat, especially as the success of the second engagement seemed rather the effect of the fortune of the Roman state, than of the conduct and skill of the consul. For getting intelligence, after the first battle, that a reinforcement was coming to him from Rome, he declared, “ he would rather be cut off “ with all his troops, than conquer by the assistance “ of others,” and in this frenzy he risked his own and the lives of the Roman army. But Ti. Gracchus managed the war in Liguria with more conduct and met with better success. For he defeated the enemy in battle, and afterwards laid waste a great part of Liguria. From thence he crossed over into Sardinia and Corsica, and by bringing from them a vast multitude



multitude of prisoners, gave occasion to the proverb, “the Sardinians are put up to sale,” which is commonly used when there is a great glut of any mean commodity.

CHAP.  
IV.



BUT to confess the truth, the Romans, at that time, had rather a good opportunity, than just cause to seize Corsica and Sardinia. After the peace of Sicily, the Carthaginians were involved in a grievous war with a part of their mercenary troops, which brought them to the very brink of destruction. This encouraged the rest of them, who were dispersed in garisons through Sardinia, to massacre the Carthaginian general Bostar and all his men. Another general Hanno was sent to avenge that barbarous action; but after bringing over his army to join them they seized and crucified him. And after having killed all the Carthaginians in the island, they got possession of all the fortify'd places in it; till a quarrel arising between them and the Sardinians the latter drove them out, and they crossed over into Italy. Then they accomplished, what they were not able to do a little before, when they were in Sardinia. For they had likewise though in vain invited the Romans to seize the sovereignty of the island. But when they were present, either by their importunate solicitations, or by shewing more plainly what a favourable opportunity the Romans had of adding Sardinia to their domain, they prevailed with them to undertake an expedition into it. And indeed it is an instance of uncommon virtue to abstain from seizing another's possessions, when we have it in our power to do it with ease; neither can this desire be long or easily dissembled by covetous and ambitious men. But I do not look upon it as a digression to enquire into this matter somewhat more fully.

CHAP.  
V.



FROM the beginning of this war the Romans in order to acquire themselves the reputation of being very obliging, had zealously espoused the cause of the Carthaginians. And therefore at the request



of that people, refused to send succors to the rebels, and would not receive the subjection of the people of Utica, or protect any person who revolted to them. They ordered their merchants to carry the Carthaginians all necessary supplies out of Italy and Sicily, and expressly prohibited them all commerce with the enemies of Carthage. They also gave the Carthaginians leave to raise troops in Italy, but confined this grant solely to this particular war. Further they endeavored, though in vain, by sending embassadors to accommodate matters. But a little before a great quarrel had happen'd between them and the Carthaginians, because the latter, having taken some Italians carrying stores to sell to the enemy, had thrown them into the public jail.

CHAP.

v.

THEY had by this time got about five hundred of these illicit traders in custody, and were said to have killed a great number, whom they had thrown into the sea, to prevent their secret practices being brought to light. The Romans resented this hainously, and begun to threaten them with war. But the Carthaginians, by sending embassadors to carry back and restore all the prisoners, so pacified the Romans, that they dismissed all the Carthaginians, who had remained captives since the war in Sicily, without ransom. Yet at last, every generous passion gave place to ambition, and the desire of subduing a people, with whom they could remember they had carried on a doubtful war for twenty four years, and foresaw they must have further disputes, if they did not endeavor to prevent it in time: wherefore observing that the Carthaginians were to quit Sardinia, and concerted measures for prosecuting the ringleaders of the revolt, the Romans took the opportunity “and  
“ resolved to declare war against them, if they did  
“ not lay down the arms, which they had indeed  
“ taken up under pretext of punishing the rebels, but  
“ really intended to employ against the Romans.” The Carthaginians, who were loth to undertake so grievous a war at so unseasonable a time, not only  
ceded

CHAP.

vi.



ceded Sardinia, but stipulated to pay two thousand talents of silver over and above their former tribute. However this severe usage chagreened them extremely, and is believed to have been the cause of the terrible war which they soon after had with Hannibal.

CHAP.  
VII.

L. Corn.  
Lent. Cau-  
dinus and  
Q. F. Flaccus  
consuls.  
Y. of R. 515.  
B. J. C. 237.

FOR it certainly was the source and occasion of the keen and deep resentment, which Hamilcar, who is justly looked on as the author of the second Punic war, continually expressed against the Romans. But these things happened afterwards. The new consuls, L. Cornelius Lentulus Caudinus, son of Lucius and grandson of Tiberius, and Q. Fulvius Flaccus, son of Marcus and grandson of Quintus, had the Gauls that inhabited on this side the Po assigned them as their province. Although some authors say, that this year a colony was sent to Valentia, yet it is a thing we can't be positive about, unless there be another Valentia besides Vibo, where we may believe upon the testimony of more authentic historians, a colony was settled fifty years after in the consulate of L. Quinctius Flaminius and Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus. As long as the consuls acted in conjunction in the dominions of the Gauls, they had a very successful campaign. But when, from a desire of extending their ravages, they separated, Q. Fulvius's camp was attacked in the night, and with difficulty saved from being taken. Though the Gauls failed in this attempt, yet they soon returned to the war with a more formidable and strong army.

CHAP.  
VIII.

FOR the petty princes of the Boii, after privately concerting measures among themselves, sent for a great body of Transalpine Gauls to join with them in the war against the Romans. In the mean time the consul, L. Lentulus, fought successfully against the Ligurians; for which he obtained the honor of a triumph on the eighth of february. Some authors say, “ that these consuls were the first who carried the  
“ Roman arms beyond the Po, and that in several  
“ battles they killed twenty four thousand Ligurians  
“ and Insubrian Gauls, and took five thousand pri-  
“ soners.”



‘soners.’ But I think it more probable, that the Romans first passed the Po after this when the Gauls in general took up arms, and that then the Insubrians were first attacked in their own dominions. At the same time embassadors were sent to Ptolemy<sup>a</sup> king of Ægypt, “to offer him succors in his war with Antiochus<sup>b</sup>, and the Syrians.” He returned them thanks, but told them, “he did not want succors at present, because he had put an end to the war by an accommodation.”

CHAP.  
VIII.



SOON after there were great rejoicings on the arrival of king Hiero at Rome. He was received with all the honor and respect due to a prince who had done them signal service, was their most faithful ally, and partner in their greatest victory. He made the Roman people a present of two hundred thousand bushels of wheat. His design in coming was to see the great games, which they were preparing to celebrate the following year. For according to some authors the third secular games<sup>a</sup> were celebrated during

CHAP.  
IX.



<sup>a</sup> This Ptolemy, the third of the name, was he who succeeded his father Ptolemy Philadelphus, who died in the year of Rome 507. He declared war with Antiochus, and carried his ravages into the center of his dominions. He subdued Cilicia, and some other countries beyond the Euphrates; but his rapid conquests were interrupted by a revolt of his subjects, which soon recalled him back to Ægypt, when he was preparing to subdue the rest of Asia. However, he brought with him incredible riches from all these conquests, and among the rest two thousand five hundred statues of these Gods. In this number were the images, which Cambyfes king of Persia had taken from the Egyptians, in the time of Psammenitus; and these superstitious people were so delighted with recovering the possession of their Gods again, that they, in gratitude for it, gave Ptolemy the name of Euergetes, or benefactor. The murder of his sister Berenice, who had married Antiochus, was the cause of this war. See Justin, Strabo, and Appian in Syriacis.

<sup>b</sup> This is that Antiochus, whom the Milesians stiled the God, for having delivered them from the tyranny of Timarchus.

<sup>a</sup> “Some months before the time appointed for the celebration of them, heralds went, by order of the magistrates, into all the countries of Italy, which depended on the Roman republic; and invited the people to come and entertain themselves with a fight, which they never had seen, nor ever would see again. When harvest was come, a few days before the festival, the consul, attended by the pontifex maximus, and the ministers who had the care of the Sybilline books, placed himself on a tribune of harangues, before the capitol. There he harangued the people, and required them to prepare for this august ceremony, by purifying their minds and bodies. This custom is mentioned on a medal of Domitian; which was struck on occasion of the secular games he caused to be celebrated. On it, we see the emperor, in the posture of a person haranguing the people.”




CHAP. IX. ing the consulate of P. Cornelius Lentulus Caudinus, son of Lucius and grandson of Tiberius, and C. Licinius Varo, whose father and grandfather were both named Publius. This we have already taken notice of.

P. C. Lent.  
Caudinus  
and C. Lic.  
Varo conf.  
Y. of R. 516.  
B. J. C. 236.

“ people. His auditors appear on  
“ their knees, in conformity to the  
“ extravagant and foolish idea they  
“ had of this prince, who forced the  
“ Romans to acknowledge him for a  
“ God, and pay him divine worship.  
“ After this first act, perfumes were  
“ distributed among the people for  
“ their purification. The consul,  
“ or the pontifex, gave the Sybilline  
“ priests some drugs, made of sul-  
“ phur and bitumen ; and they di-  
“ stributed them to all persons of  
“ free condition. With the per-  
“ fume, they also gave them little  
“ fir-sticks called *tædæ*. These  
“ sticks were lighted at the ends,  
“ and the perfume of sulphur and  
“ bitumen thrown upon the flame.  
“ This caused a smoke, which was  
“ thought to be of wonderful virtue  
“ in purifications. Children who  
“ were attained to the use of their  
“ reason, were suffered to partake of  
“ this ceremony. Then all went  
“ to the temples of Jupiter, Apollo,  
“ and Diana, on the hill Aventinus ;  
“ and every one carried thither his  
“ first fruits of the year : but this  
“ offering was made only of wheat,  
“ barley, and beans. These were the  
“ preparations of the festival ; which  
“ was opened with a sort of procession.  
“ The priests of each college assist-  
“ ed at it in a body. All the orders  
“ of men in the republic joined in  
“ it ; and the people appeared in  
“ this solemn march, dressed in white,  
“ crowned with flowers, and carry-  
“ ing palm-branches in their hands.  
“ The streets of Rome rung with the  
“ hymns which were sung in honor  
“ to the pagan divinities. The ima-  
“ ges of the Gods were then every  
“ where exposed, for the people to  
“ reverence them, on stately beds,  
“ which were called *lectisternia De-*  
“ *orum*. The three following nights  
“ were spent in prayers, and offer-  
“ ing sacrifices in the temples ; and  
“ these nocturnal devotions were  
“ called *pervigilia*. During the night-

“ watches, the infernal Gods were  
“ particularly worshipped. The blood  
“ of the victims covered the altars.  
“ A black bull was sacrificed to Plu-  
“ to, and a black cow to Proserpine.  
“ In the first night of the festival,  
“ the consuls, attended by the Sy-  
“ billine priests, went to the place  
“ called *Tarentum*, near the Tiber,  
“ where the secular games had their  
“ rise ; and there erected three al-  
“ tars, and sacrificed three lambs.  
“ After the altars had been sprinkled  
“ with the blood of the victims, the  
“ latter were thrown whole into the  
“ fire, and no part of them saved.  
“ All this, and the two following  
“ nights, all the streets of Rome  
“ were illuminated with fires, and  
“ numberless lights. The next day,  
“ in the day-time, a white bull was  
“ sacrificed to Jupiter, and a white  
“ heifer to Juno, music playing all  
“ the while. After the sacrifices  
“ were over, the people went to the  
“ capitol, to the place appointed for  
“ theatrical entertainments, which  
“ were presented in honor to Apollo  
“ and Diana. For we must not for-  
“ get, what we have before observed,  
“ that the public games were a con-  
“ siderable part of the religion of the  
“ Romans. After these diversions,  
“ succeeded the shews in the circus,  
“ and the combats of the gladiators.  
“ The second night, the citizens  
“ addressed their prayers and suppli-  
“ tions to the *parcæ*. In order to  
“ appease these formidable divinities,  
“ who were, as was pretended, the  
“ arbitresses of life and death, a  
“ sheep and a black goat were sacri-  
“ ficed to them. On the second day  
“ of the feast, the women of free  
“ condition came successively to the  
“ capitol, and to different temples ;  
“ and there they invoked the prin-  
“ cipal divinities, sung hymns to  
“ their honor, and prayed for the  
“ prosperity of the empire, and for  
“ their protection on the Roman  
“ people. But above all, they im-  
“ plored



of. M. Æmilius and Livius Salinator, whose fathers and grandfathers had both the prænomen of Marcus, CHAP. IX.  
were 

“plored the assistance of the parcæ,  
 “of Juno, and of the Lucinæ, for  
 “the happy delivery of women with  
 “child. The rest of the day was  
 “spent in shews and fights, like  
 “those the day before. The third  
 “night was employed in sacrificing  
 “an hog to Tellus, or the Earth;  
 “which is well known to have been  
 “one of the chief Goddesses among  
 “the Greeks and Romans, who  
 “worshipped her, under different  
 “names. The third and last day of  
 “the secular games, was spent like  
 “the other two, in rejoicings, and  
 “shews of all sorts. It ended with  
 “a concert of vocal and instrumental  
 “music. Seven and twenty young  
 “boys of good families, and as many  
 “girls, were divided into six chorus’s,  
 “and sung hymns in the temple of  
 “Apollo, which was made on pur-  
 “pose to implore the protection of  
 “the pagan deities, in favor of the  
 “Roman people, and all orders of  
 “men in the republic. It was a  
 “prevailing opinion, that the pray-  
 “ers of the state, offered up by  
 “these innocent, and therefore love-  
 “ly children, would infallibly be  
 “heard by the Gods. It was ne-  
 “cessary that the fathers and mo-  
 “thers of these children should be  
 “living; and great care was taken  
 “of this particular. The sight of  
 “an orphan might have raised me-  
 “lancholy thoughts, which ill suit-  
 “ed with the solemnity of a festi-  
 “val set apart for public rejoicings.  
 “The Romans, who were regard-  
 “ful of these trifles even to super-  
 “stition, would infallibly have drawn  
 “ill-boding prognostics from it. On  
 “these solemn days, the mysterious  
 “dance of the salii attracted the  
 “eyes of the spectators. The con-  
 “suls, or emperor, closed the whole  
 “solemnity with distributing the of-  
 “ferings of the citizens, among the  
 “officers whose business it had been  
 “to preserve order and peace during  
 “the whole ceremony: and these  
 “distributed a part of those offerings  
 “among the people, who received  
 “them with great veneration, as a

“sure pledge of the protection of  
 “the Gods, and the happiness of  
 “their families. And lastly, the  
 “form of the celebration of these  
 “games, and the date of it, were  
 “recorded on marble, and in the  
 “registers of the priests, whose chief  
 “office it was to consult the Sybil-  
 “line books. Add to this, that  
 “the historian Zozimus, concerned  
 “to give weight to the Pagan wor-  
 “ship, in order to render this so-  
 “lemnity the more venerable, sup-  
 “poses, that the celebration of the  
 “secular games had been appoint-  
 “ed by an oracle of the Sybil; the  
 “sense of which oracle was this.

“Remember, Roman, to offer  
 “sacrifice to the immortal Gods,  
 “after every century, the term of  
 “the longest life. [Some think,  
 “that the quindecemviri in Augus-  
 “tus’s time put an hundred and  
 “ten years instead of an hundred.]  
 “The field which is washed with  
 “the waters of the Tiber, shall be  
 “the place of this sacrifice. When  
 “the day closes, and the night draws  
 “on, prepare to offer goats and  
 “sheep to the Parcæ. Then offer  
 “proper sacrifices to the Lucinæ,  
 “who have the care of women in  
 “child-bed. Then offer an hog  
 “and black sow to the fruitful  
 “Earth. The next day, kill white  
 “oxen on Jupiter’s altars. The sa-  
 “crifices which are offered up by  
 “day-light please the celestial Gods.  
 “For this reason thou shalt offer  
 “an young heifer, of a fine coat,  
 “to Juno. Thou shalt also make  
 “the like sacrifices to Phœbus, or  
 “Apollo, who is also called the Sun.  
 “Some Latine boys, accompanied  
 “with some young girls, shall sing  
 “hymns in the sacred temples; but  
 “in such manner, that the boys  
 “shall sing on one side, and the girls  
 “on the other; and let the fathers  
 “and mothers of these children be  
 “living. Married women shall pay  
 “their duty, on their knees, before  
 “the altar of Juno. They shall in-  
 “treat this Goddess to hear their  
 “prayers, and those of the public.  
 “Let



CHAP. IX. were chosen superintendants of the games. In the mean time the Boii, elated with the numbers of their Transalpine auxiliaries, sent to the consuls to desire, “ that the territory and city of Ariminum, which “ was their indisputable right, should be restored to “ them, and in case their demand was refused threat- “ ned the Romans with a bloody and destructive war.” The consuls, who had not yet joined, and feared to expose their small armies to hazard, as they could not grant the Gauls demands, replied, “ that they “ ought to send ambassadors to lay their business be- “ fore the senate.” The Gauls were satisfied with this condition, and a truce for some days was agreed on by both sides to give the ambassadors time to go and return.

CHAP. X. WHEN they came to Rome the senate refused to comply with their demand. At the same time the Romans made great and additional preparations, to oppose this torrent which afterwards came to nothing; as fortune put an end to that formidable war, without shedding any Roman blood. For when the ambassadors were on their return home, the Transalpine army, without the knowledge of the Boii, marched to Ariminum. This raised a suspicion that they had come into that country with a design to take possession of it for themselves, and the inhabitants resented it so highly, that they put their own kings Ates and Galatus to death upon suspicion of their having betrayed them into the hands of the Gauls, and endeavored by main force to drive these foreigners out of their dominions. In consequence of this they fought a bloody battle, which having impaired both their forces considerably, the Transalpines returned home, and the Boii obtained peace from the Romans by ceding some of their lands to them.

“ Let every one, according to his “ ability, offer first-fruits to the “ Gods, to render them propitious “ to him. Let these first-fruits be “ carefully kept; and let them be “ distributed among those who shall “ have assisted at the sacrifices. Let “ the statues of the Gods be exposed “ day and night, to the adoration of “ the people, on stately beds. Let “ this solemnity be celebrated with “ seriousness, and with joy. O Ro- “ man! never forget the rules I give “ So shall the land of the Italian “ and Latines be always subject to “ thee.”

THIS



THIS war being so speedily terminated, the consuls marched into Liguria. Here P. Lentulus, after defeating the enemies who faced him, traversed their country, took some castles by storm, and had others surrendered to him. C. Licinius intended to cross over into Corsica; but as he had not vessels sufficient to transport all his troops at once, he sent M. Claudius Glycias before him with a part of them. When this officer saw the Corsicans terrified at his arrival, forgetting his own character and station, and the duty which he owed to the consul, under whose auspices he had been sent, and from a frantic vanity desiring to derive to himself the glory of recovering this island, concluded a treaty with the Corsicans upon his personal authority. But when Varus arrived with the rest of his army, he never ceased his attacks upon them till he had quite subdued them, while they in vain pleaded the treaty. The senate, in order to vindicate the Roman people from the reproach of breach of faith, sentenced the author of that dishonorable peace to be delivered up to the Corsicans. But as they refused to receive him the fathers ordered him to be put to death in the public prison.

THE censors this year were L. Cornelius Lentulus Caudinus, son of Lucius and grandson of Tiberius, and Q. Lutatius Cerco, whose father and grandfather had both the name of Caius. But they did not complete the lustrum, because Cerco died during his office. Though M. Claudius had been delivered up to the Corsicans, and afterwards punished, yet those barbarians could not be persuaded, that it was just in the Romans to make war on them afterwards. Wherefore they speedily renewed hostilities, especially when they saw their neighbors the Sardinians leading the way. For the Carthaginians, by promising the Sardinians aid underhand, had induced that people to rebel, and they were ready enough of themselves to do it, as they entertained no great hatred against their old masters, and did not much love their new. When this news reached Rome it



CHAP. XII. filled every body with fear and indignation, not on account of Sardinia, which they did not much value, but because they were apprehensive of a new war with Carthage. And as they were of opinion, it would prove the less considerable the sooner it was begun, as the Carthaginians had not recovered their strength since the former war, they resolved to make preparations without loss of time, and wage war on that people.

CHAP. XIII. BUT this news occasioned so great an alarm among the Carthaginians, who were resolved to suffer any hardship rather than a war with the Romans, that they sent deputies after deputies, and when they could not obtain a favorable answer, dispatched at last ten of the principal persons of their state, to beg in the most humble terms, “ that they might be suffered  
“ to enjoy the peace, which had formerly been  
“ granted them.” But nothing could prevail on the enraged and jealous Romans, till Hanno, the youngest of the deputies, intrepid, of an undaunted spirit, and a bold and ready speaker, said, “ Romans, if  
“ you are determined to refuse us that peace, which  
“ we bought of you, not for one or two years, but  
“ forever, restore Sicily and Sardinia to us, which  
“ were the price we paid for it. When bargains be-  
“ tween private persons are broke off, a man of ho-  
“ nor will not receive back his commodity, without  
“ restoring the money.” This made the Romans blush, and that they might not seem to make war upon unjust grounds, they dismissed the ambassador with a more favorable answer. In consequence of this, one of the consuls, C. Atilius Bulbus, whose father and grandfather had both the prænomens Aulus, and who had been consul before, staid in Italy; and the other T. Manlius Torquatus, whose father and grandfather were both called Titus, went into Sardinia, which had fallen to him by lot.

CHAP. XIV. HAVING in several places defeated the enemy he reduced the whole island, subdued the Sardinians and triumphed over them before the sixth of Mar



Upon which, as no enemy appeared any where, the Romans enjoyed a perfect tranquillity, which occasioned the shutting the temple of Janus, an unusual spectacle to this warlike city, which had not seen this sign of peace ever since the days of Numa, for the space of about four hundred and forty years. I look upon this as an instance of the unhappiness of the Roman state, which struggled with perpetual difficulties, without being able to obtain the reward of her toils. For though every wise man wages war only for the sake of attaining peace, yet this state, after finishing many important wars with success, could not often obtain peace, and knew not how to maintain it long, after it had acquired it. Nay even at this time, within a very few months, they were alarmed anew, and soon obliged to part with those joys of peace which they had scarce tasted. For both the Sardinians, who had been lately subdued, shook off the yoke, the hostile intentions of the Corficans plainly appeared, and at the same time the Ligurians made an insurrection in Italy itself.

ON account of these commotions, the consuls L. Posthumius Albinus, whose father and grandfather had the name of Aulus, and Sp. Carvilius Maximus, the son of Sp. and grandson of Caius, were ordered to make the levies. And having divided them into three bodies, in order to separate the enemy and prevent their assisting one another, L. Posthumius fell upon the Ligurians, Sp. Carvilius attacked the Corficans, and P. Cornelius sailed for Sardinia. The unwholesom air of this island infected the army with the plague and a variety of other distempers, so that great numbers of men were swept off, and among the rest the prætor himself. Upon this the Sardinians were greatly elated, but Sp. Carvilius the consul arriving seasonably routed them in a bloody battle. He likewise reduced the Corficans. A triumph was granted him on account of his signal services, and he made his procession on the thirty-first of March. The other consul and his army



had the same good success against the Ligurians. But at Rome one Tutia, a vestal virgin, was condemned for incontinence. As a great aggravation of her shame, she had had a criminal conversation with a slave, and in order to avoid the punishment her crime deserved, she laid violent hands on herself. After this, the cenfors C. Atilius Bulbus, whose father and grandfather had the name of Aulus, and A. Posthumius Albinus, the son of Aulus and grandson of Lucius, closed the fortieth lustrum.

CHAP. XVI. THAT the number of citizens in this census was less than that in the former, for I find no exact account of them, clearly appears from the oath which the cenfors obliged every man to take, “that he would marry a wife in order to have children.” It was this year that Cn. Nævius the Campanian, who had served in the war against the Carthaginians, presented his first pieces on the stage. In the mean time, as the Ligurians and Sardinians had begun to take up arms anew, the consuls Q. Fabius Maximus Verucosus, whose father and grandfather had the name of Quintus, and M. Pomponius Matho, whose father and grandfather had the name of Marcus, were ordered to share the provinces by lot. The war with the Ligurians fell to the former, and that with the Sardinians to the latter. And as “the Carthaginians were said to foment these commotions, by sending persons secretly to excite the Barbarians to revolt,” ambassadors were immediately dispatched to Carthage with strict orders “to demand the tribute due to the republic, to command the Carthaginians to keep from the islands belonging to the Romans, and to threaten them with a war, if they did not immediately obey.”

CHAP. XVII. BY this time the Carthaginians had recovered both strength and courage since their former losses, especially by the indefatigable activity of Hamilcar, who had not only reduced the nations of Africa that had revolted from them, but had also greatly extended their domain by large conquests, which he had made

Q. F. Maximus and M. P. Matho consuls.  
Y. of R. 519.  
B. J. C. 233.



in Spain. Wherefore they returned the embassadors an haughty answer, and when, according to their commission, they presented them a spear and a caduceus<sup>a</sup>, and desired the Carthaginians to take which they would; “We will chuse neither, said they, but leave you to take which you please, for either is equal to us.” From this time the animosity between the two republics began to break out afresh, and though they did not come immediately to an open rupture, yet nothing but an appearance of friendship subsisted between them; for they really hated one another at heart. After the consuls were returned to the city, and had given an account of their atchievements, they both obtained the honor of a triumph. Fabius had killed a great number of the Ligurians in battle, obliged the rest to take refuge in the Alps, and secured the neighborhood of Italy from their robberies. Accordingly he triumphed over the Ligurians on the thirty-first of january. M. Pomponius his colleague had defeated the Sardinians and triumphed over them on the fifteenth of march.

CHAP.  
XVII.

YET this defeat did not induce the Sardinians to put an end to the war: their losses rather enflamed their resentment than sunk their spirits, and they made stronger efforts to shake off the Roman yoke than ever. For this reason the new consuls, M. Æmilius Lepidus the son and grandson of Marcus, and M. Publicius Malleolus the son and grandson of Lucius being sent into Sardinia, carried off a great quantity of booty from that island; but sailing thence to Corsica, the people there took it from them. C. Flaminius a tribune of the people occasioned no less disturbance in the city, by a bill which he proposed, “for dividing the land of Picenum and Gaul, that had been taken from the Senones, among the people.” The senate opposed it with the utmost zeal, and having tried in vain to divert the tribune both by threats and entreaties, at last they ordered

CHAP.  
XVIII.

M. Æmil.  
Lepidus and  
M. Public.  
Malleolus  
consuls.  
Y. of R. 520  
B. J. C. 232

<sup>a</sup> The first the symbol of war, the latter of peace.



the magistrates to levy an army, for the defence of the republic against his designs; but all this made no impression on Fabius, he could neither be moved by prayers nor wrought upon by fear. His father likewise advised him, “to yield to the importunity of the senate, and not to make himself be represented as the ringleader of sedition.”

## CHAP.

XIX.



BUT he, notwithstanding the remonstrances of his father, persisted in his resolution and having assembled the people, ordered the bill to be read. Upon this, his father being grieved at his obstinacy, came up to the tribune of harangues, and taking his son by the hand pulled him down. On this occasion was seen a surprizing instance of the duty or veneration, which children at that time paid to paternal authority. For this tribune who had made light of the resentment and terrible threatnings of the whole body of the senate, at the very time he was warmly engaged in giving the finishing stroke to his enterprize, in the sight of the Roman people, who had the passing of the law extremely at heart, suffered himself to be drawn from his tribunal, by the hand of a single old man. The modesty of the people was no less remarkable on this occasion; for though they saw their hopes frustrated by the departure of the tribune, they did not murmur in the least, either at the behavior of the father or the son. However the bill was delayed but not entirely dropt. For soon after the same tribune, assisted by his colleague, C. Carvilius, got it passed into a law, which first gave rise to that general corruption that afterwards prevailed among the people, and to that terrible war which broke out with the Gauls, eight years after the division of the lands that had been taken from them.

## CHAP.

XX.



M. P. Matho  
and C. P.  
Maso cons.  
Y. of R. 521.  
E. J. C. 231.

THE following consuls were M. Pomponius Matho, whose father and grandfather had the name of Marcus, and C. Papirius Maso the son of Caius and grandson of Lucius. The former had Sardinia and the latter Corsica for his province. In both places, the



the enemy fled before the Roman legions, and retiring to the woods and inaccessible mountains, defended themselves more by the situation of their posts than their arms. Wherefore Pomponius, considering it was more difficult to find the enemy than to conquer them, caused several quick-scented dogs to be brought him from Italy, to trace them, though sculking in their hiding places, as they do wild beasts. C. Papirius, having driven the Corficans from the champain country, pursued them to the hills. And there he underwent much fatigue and danger; for many of his men died of thirst, and numbers of them were cut off by the sudden incursions of the enemy. At last, after he had found some water and refreshed his army, the Corficans, being afraid they would be ruined at last, listened to the arguments of the consul, who advised them to surrender.

WHILST the consuls were employed in these expeditions, the comitia was held by a dictator who was created on purpose to preside in them. The person promoted to this dignity was C. Duilius, the son and grandson of Marcus. He appointed C. Aurelius Cotta, son of Lucius and grandson of Caius, to be his general of horse. At this time likewise, T. Manlius Torquatus, whose father and grandfather had the name of Titus, and Q. Fulvius Flaccus, son of Marcus and grandson of Quintus, were created censors; but as there was some defect in their election they resigned. Historians take notice of the rise of a new custom in the republic, which it will not be impertinent to relate. There had been no such thing as a divorce in Rome, since the building of the city. Sp. Carvilius Ruga was the first who divorced his wife, because she was barren, alledging as an excuse for his conduct, the oath which the censor had obliged him to take, "that he should marry a wife in order to have children." The people were no less shocked at the atrociousness of the injury than the novelty of it, and thought it was both unjust and cruel in men to put away their wives whom they

CHAP.

XXI.

C. Duilius  
dictator, C.  
Aur. Cotta  
general of  
horse



CHAP. have chosen to be constant partners in their good  
 XXI. and bad fortune for life, on any pretence whatsoever;  
 and they ever after hated Sp. Carvilius, though it  
 was through necessity and by the advice of his friends,  
 that he divorced his wife, with whom he lived per-  
 fectly well and loved most tenderly on account of  
 her endearing behavior. From this time the law  
 became more intricate, and many more pleas were  
 brought before the prætor; for then they first begun  
 to devise cunning methods to secure to the women  
 their fortunes, which they had no occasion for be-  
 fore, because there had been no divorces.

CHAP. THE same year the generals, in order to do  
 XXII. themselves honor introduced a custom which had  
 never been known before. At the end of his con-  
 sulship C. Papirius triumphed over the Corsicans on  
 the Alban mount on the fifth of march. The reason of  
 his assuming to himself this honor was, because the  
 senate refused to grant him a triumph, though he  
 thought he had sufficiently deserved it by the reduc-  
 tion of Corsica. Many generals since that have fol-  
 lowed his example and triumphed on the Alban  
 mount, when the senate have refused to allow them  
 that honor in due form. After this he assisted at  
 the games with a crown of myrtle on his head,  
 which he made choice of before all others in memory  
 of the victory he had gained over the Corsicans in a  
 field, where great numbers of myrtle trees grew.  
 Though the troubles in Corsica and Sardinia were  
 composed the Ligurians still stood out, and therefore  
 the consuls M. Æmilius Barbula, son of Lucius  
 and grandson of Quintus, and M. Junius Pera, whose  
 father and grandfather had the name of Decius, were  
 sent against them. But getting information upon  
 their march, that the Gauls were preparing to revolt,  
 they led their army into their territory.

M. Æmil.  
 Barbula and  
 M. Jun. Pera  
 consuls.  
 Y. of R. 522.  
 B. J. C. - 30.

CHAP. FOR the passing of the Flaminian law had great-  
 XXIII. ly displeased that nation, and as they were naturally  
 warlike and prone to revenge, the people at Rome  
 were afraid they would raise some new commotions.

And



And in order to prevent them, the magistrates issued a proclamation discharging every person from giving the Gauls either gold or silver on any account. For the Boii, and the other people of that country, got considerable sums by the sale of several commodities, but especially of their slaves, and the Romans suspected they would employ this money to make war upon them. Accordingly upon receiving intelligence, that the consuls were ordered to make war upon the Ligurians, they were the more encouraged to take up arms, and were said secretly to have formed a design to attack Rome, while the Roman arms were employed in this distant expedition. But being surprized at the march of the consuls, who came upon them before they were prepared to make any resistance, they received the Romans with all the external signs of peace and friendship. The consuls likewise, satisfied with having prevented the war from breaking out, pretended as an excuse for entering their territory, “that they had done it for the sake of a more convenient passage for their troops into Liguria.”

CHAP.  
XXIII.

THE censors chosen last year on account of some invalidity in their nomination had abdicated their office. But in this consulship, Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus, whose father and grandfather had the name of Quintus, and M. Sempronius Tuditanus, son of Caius and grandson of Marcus, were advanced to that dignity and closed the forty first lustrum. During these transactions in Rome and Italy, the Illyrians gave the Romans occasion to declare war against them for the following reasons. Being a fierce people and greedy of plunder, they followed piracy, and had taken a great number of Italian merchants, just as they were sailing out of the port of Brundisium, some of whom they had killed. When complaints of this were first made to the senate, they did not give sufficient attention to them, being otherwise engaged. But at last the pirates becoming quite audacious through impunity, upon reiterated complaints the senate was induced upon to send ambassadors

CHAP.  
XXIV.



embassadors to them to demand restitution of goods, and at the same time to defend the cause of the inhabitants of Issa<sup>a</sup>, who had lately put themselves under the protection of the republic. This people inhabited an island in the Ionian sea, and had revolted from the Illyrians, who for that reason hated them mortally and did them all the mischief in their power.

## CHAP.

XXV.



THE persons sent on this embassy were the two Coruncanii, Caius and Lucius. While they were upon the road, Agron king of the Illyrians, who are called Ardyæans<sup>a</sup>, the son of Pleuratus to whom they were sent, died, leaving a son named Pinneus a minor, whose stepmother Teuta governed the kingdom assisted by a council of the late king's friends. This princess, being naturally haughty and elated with prosperity, after hearing the Roman ambassadors with an air of contempt, replied, "She would take care  
 " the vessels belonging to the state should do the  
 " Romans no damage, but it had never been the  
 " custom of the kings of Illyria to hinder any of  
 " their subjects from making what gain they could  
 " for themselves, by captures at sea." At these words, the younger Coruncanius could not restrain his passion, and with a liberty, which was not indecent though unseasonable, said, "But, Teuta, it has been  
 " the custom of the Romans to protect particular  
 " persons, and to employ the forces of the republic  
 " to revenge the injuries done them. And by the  
 " assistance of the Gods, we will do our endeavor  
 " to make you willing to reform these maxims of  
 " your kings quickly." These words nettled the queen prodigiously. However she concealed her resentment, but after the ambassadors were set out on their return home, she sent some assassines after them, who murdered the younger Coruncanius with several of his attendants, put the rest of them in irons and burnt the captains of the Roman ships. These ruffians likewise killed one Calemporus the Issæan ambassador.

<sup>a</sup> An island in the Adriatic gulph, and belongs to the republic of Venice.

<sup>b</sup> See below, p. 445, n. 2.





AS soon as the accounts came to Rome, the senate caused to erect in the forum statues three feet high in honor of T. Coruncanius and P. Junius, and declared war against Teuta and the Illyrians. Teuta being quite unacquainted with the art of government, and never having learnt to correct the faults of her sex either by reason or experience, was as much afraid when she saw the vengeance of the Romans coming upon her, as she had been inconsiderate in exciting their indignation. Accordingly as soon as she had certain intelligence that they were preparing to make war upon her, she promised “to restore the Romans she had alive in her hands, but said it was not in her power, to send back those whom the assassines had murdered without her orders.” Though the satisfaction offered was by no means adequate to the greatness of the offence, yet as it gave the Romans some hopes of being able to compose all differences with the Illyrians without shedding blood, they gave orders not to begin hostilities, and required her only to search for and deliver up the persons that had murdered her ambassadors. Teuta seeing the Roman arms which had terrified her withdrawn, according to her natural levity, after the removal of her fears returned to her former insolence, and declared, “she would not give up a single man of them,” and to shew them she would be as daring in her actions as she had been in her words, she instantly dispatched her troops to besiege Issa.

UPON notice of this, the senate forthwith ordered the consuls, L. Posthumius Albinus for the second time, whose father and grandfather had the name of Aulus, and Cn. Fulvius Centumalus, whose father and grandfather had the name of Cneius, and who were just entered into office, to go against her with forces both by sea and land. The latter commanded the fleet consisting of two hundred vessels, and his colleague the legions. Then Teuta, being seized with the same terror as before, sent Demetrius, a native of Pharos,



L. POSTHUMIUS ALBINUS  
Cn. FULVIUS CENTUMALUS  
consules  
M. R. 523.  
B. J. C. 229.



CHAP. Pharos<sup>a</sup>, to the consuls to beg peace. And they agreed  
 XXVII. to grant her a truce, upon condition that the Illyrians  
 would abandon Corcyra which they had newly taken. But the Romans were no sooner gone to take possession of this island, but Teuta, as if every thing she had to dread had been entirely removed, returned to her old game, and sent her officers to besiege Dyrrachium<sup>b</sup> and Apollonia<sup>c</sup>. Some authors say, “that  
 “Teuta did not consent to deliver up Corcyra to  
 “the Romans, but that Demetrius who was govern-  
 “or of it did it of his own accord, in order to find  
 “an asylum among them and be protected by them  
 “from the resentment of the queen, to whom he  
 “knew his enemies accused him of treasonable de-  
 “signs.” When the Illyrian garison had surrendered to the Romans, the Corcyreans after public deliberation likewise submitted to them, judging that the only way they had left to save themselves, and to be secured from the injuries of the Illyrians, was to put themselves under the protection of that powerful republic.

CHAP. FULVIUS sailed with his fleet from Corcyra to  
 XXVIII. Apollonia, whither L. Posthumius transported the  
 land forces from Brundisium. They amounted to twenty thousand foot and two thousand horse. The inhabitants of this city received the Romans with gladness, and put themselves under their protection. After they had delivered them from the terror of the enemy, they marched directly to Dyrrachium, which city immediately surrendered to them, the Illyrians who had begun to besiege it running away through fear, upon the report of their approach. These vigorous proceedings obliged the Ardyæans

<sup>a</sup> An island belonging to the Venetians, now called Lefina.

<sup>b</sup> It stands on the Adriatic coast, and is now called Durazzo.

<sup>c</sup> There were several cities called Apollonia; that here spoken of stood on the western coast of Macedon, sixty stadia from the sea, according to Strabo; but only fifty, according

to Scylax. The former tells us, it was built by a colony of the inhabitants of Corinth and Corcyra. The neighboring country about this city was watered by the river Aous, as Strabo calls it; which is the same that Meia calls Ahas, and that now bears the name of Polina.



to submit to the consuls, and deputies from several different nations in the farther Illyricum came to them and promised to obey their commands, if they would admit them into the friendship of the republic. Among this number were the Parthini<sup>a</sup> and Atintanes<sup>b</sup>. Demetrius was of singular service to the Romans in their expeditions. For he attended the consuls from place to place, and by extolling the power and fidelity of the Romans, and representing the rashness and inconstancy of Teuta, brought over some nations by advice and arguments, and others by his credit, to enter into an alliance with the Romans. After these transactions the consuls set sail for Issa, and landing at many places in their way, took several cities with very little resistance.

CHAP.  
XXVIII.

THE Illyrians defended Nutria<sup>a</sup> boldly, and the victory cost the Romans a great deal of blood, besides the loss of several legionary tribunes and a quæstor. But the taking of twenty barks from Peloponnesus<sup>b</sup>, loaden with money and plunder, in some measure alleviated their grief. After this the Romans came to Issa, where they had the same success as at Dyrachium; for upon the arrival of the Roman fleet the Barbarians raised the siege and fled all different ways, except the Pharians, who were taken into the protection of the republic, and had their lives and their goods spared, out of regard to Demetrius who was their countryman, and had been governor of that island under king Agron. The accounts of these matters made different impressions on the fickle mind of Teuta, and by turns filled her with confidence and fear. For as the taking and destroying her towns, the ravaging the coast of her kingdom,

CHAP.  
XXIX.

<sup>a</sup> The Parthini were so called from an ancient city called Parthus, which the ancient geographers place in Illyricum, on the frontiers of Macedonia. The Ardæans inhabited that little canton of Illyricum, which is over-against the island of Pharos. The Atintanes inhabited part of the

country of the Molossi, according to Thucydides. Livy and Polybius place them in the extreme parts of Macedonia, near Illyricum. Appian pretends that they were Illyrians.

<sup>b</sup> See preceding note.

<sup>a</sup> Quite unknown.

<sup>b</sup> Now the Morea.



and the routing the Illyrians in so many encounters, struck her with the greatest terror; on the other hand, the bold defence made by the Nutrinians inspired her with courage, and the approach of the winter, when sailing is dangerous, made her hope that the Romans would quickly return home. For this reason, she retired with a few attendants to Rhizon <sup>c</sup>, a town situated upon a river of the same name, resolving to wait there till she should see what remedy time would present her with for retrieving her affairs.

CHAP.  
xxx.



WHAT fed her up in these vain hopes was the behavior of the consuls, who after giving the greatest part of what they had conquered to Demetrius, brought back their fleet and army to Dyrrachium. But when she saw that L. Posthumius staid behind with forty vessels, and that he had levied an army in the neighboring cities for the defence of the Ardyæans and other Illyrians that had gone over to the Romans, she then despaired entirely of being able to stand out against such a powerful enemy, and began to think seriously of purchasing peace on any terms. Accordingly early in the spring, she dispatched ambassadors to Rome with instructions to excuse what was past, as done by the command of Agron, whose orders she was obliged to support. The Romans however declared that they did not grant peace to her to whom no authority properly belonged, and who had deserved no such favor at their hands, but to Pinneus the son of Agron, and that on the following conditions, “ that he should  
“ pay the tribute imposed upon him by the Ro-  
“ mans; that he should abandon all Illyria to them  
“ except a few places, and not sail beyond Lissus<sup>a</sup>  
“ with more than two barks, and these unarmed.”

CHAP.  
xxxI.



BY this peace Corcyra, Pharos, Issa, Dyrrachium, and the Atintanes were yielded to the Romans;

<sup>c</sup> It stood on the Adriatic coast on the gulph of Cattaro, in Dalmatia.

<sup>a</sup> Now Alessio, on the borders of Illyricum and Macedon, near the mouth of the river Drilo.



the rest of the territory which had belonged to Agron CHAP.  
were left to Pinneus. Teuta either through fear or XXXII.

shame, or perhaps by the order of the Romans, resigned the regency of the kingdom, which Demetrius the Pharian undertook with the title of tutor to the king. Though the war with the Illyrians was terminated in this manner, and the Romans had extended their domain even to the confines of Greece, the republic was alarmed from another quarter by the motions of the Gauls, and the conquests of the Carthaginians in Spain, which no body believed they could secure without endangering the Roman republic. Hasdrubal the son-in-law and successor of Hamilcar, having revenged the death of his father-in-law, added many nations of that country, partly by arms, but particularly by his address and eloquence, in which he had an uncommon talent, to the empire of the Carthaginians. He likewise built another city called New Carthage<sup>a</sup> in a gulph of the sea, near to a very spacious and convenient port. But the dread of the Gauls, who were their nearest enemies, prevented their coming to an open declaration of war against the Carthaginians. The only thing that remained for them to do was to stop the career of their success by treaties and conventions. For this purpose they dispatched some deputies to Carthage, and others to Asdrubal, and concluded a treaty with them, the conditions of which were “ that the Carthaginians should not pass the river Iber<sup>b</sup>; and “ that they should allow the Saguntines<sup>c</sup> the full “ enjoyment of their liberty and laws.”

## THESE

<sup>a</sup> New Carthage is still in being, in the kingdom of Murcia, and is now called Cartagena. It was called New Carthage, to distinguish it from Old Carthage in Spain, which was founded by one Hamilcar, a Carthaginian general. The latter stood in the kingdom of Arragon, on the borders of Valencia. Some think they find some footsteps of this city in the town of Cantaveia. Others place it nearer Mequinenza, at the conflux of the Segro and the Iberus.

or Ebro. Strabo calls New Carthage Spartaria, (from the word Spartum, which signifies broom) because there grew a great deal of broom in the country about it. Asdrubal, who succeeded Hamilcar Barca, the father of Hannibal, caused it to be built near a gulph, which from the city is called the gulph of Cartagena.

<sup>b</sup> Now called the Ebro in Old Castile.

<sup>c</sup> The city of Seguntum stood in the kingdom of Valencia, near the place



CHAP.  
XXXII.

Sp. Carvil.  
Maximus  
and Q.F.M.  
Verrucosus  
consuls.  
Y. of R. 524.  
B. J. C. 228.

THESE things happened the year that Sp. Carvilius Maximus, the son of Spurius and grandson of Cneius, and Q. Fabius Maximus Verrucosus, whose father and grandfather had the name of Quintus, were both consuls for the second time. About the same time, L. Posthumius the proconsul, who had passed the winter in Illyricum, sent ambassadors from Corcyra to the Achæans<sup>a</sup> and Ætolians<sup>b</sup> to give them a distinct account of the “ reasons that had “ determined the Romans to enter into war with “ the Illyrians, the advantages which they had “ gained and the conditions on which they had put “ an end to it.” The Romans were received with great civility and heard with joy, for those nations and the rest of the Greeks hated the Illyrians mortally, on account of their continual depredations under the reign of Agron and the administration of Teuta. When the senate heard this, they approved the proceedings of the proconsul, and agreed to send another embassy to the Corinthians and Athenians in the name of the republic, “ to assure them “ of the affection of the people of Rome for all “ the Greeks, and the strict justice which they shewed to all the world.” This step gained the Romans great good will in these parts, and the Corinthians instantly passed a decree whereby they admitted the Romans to share in the Isthmian games<sup>c</sup>, which are one of the four most celebrated games in Greece.

## WHAT

place where Morviedro now stands. This situation agrees perfectly with the description the historians and geographers have given us of it.

<sup>a</sup> The Achæans inhabited that part of Peloponnesus, which was from them called Achaia. Before they had conquered it, it was indifferently called either Ægialis, because it was a maritime city; or Ionia, because it was under the government of the Ionians.

<sup>b</sup> Ætolia comprehended all that country which was bounded on one

side by the river Achelous, and on the other by the gulph of Corinth.

“ The Isthmian games took “ their name from the Isthmus of Corinth, where the Greeks used to “ celebrate them every three years. “ They were instituted in honor to “ Palæmon, or Melicertes. But “ Plutarch pretends they were celebrated in honor to Neptune. Those “ games, says he, in his life of Theſeus, which had been dedicated to “ Melicertes, near Corinth, were “ celebrated in the night. They “ had






WHAT prompted them chiefly to do this, was, the generosity of the Romans who had not only set Apollonia and other cities of Grecian extraction free, but likewise Corcyra that had been a colony from Corinth. The Athenians also accepted of an alliance with the Romans, and by a decree “ allowed them “ the privileges of Athenian citizens, and of be- “ ing initiated in and assisting at the Eleusinian “ mysteries <sup>a</sup>.” In the mean time Cn. Fulvius the pro-

“ had more the air of a mystery, “ and nocturnal ceremony, than of “ a solemn festival. And indeed, “ most authors are divided in opi- “ nion, about the origin of this “ shew, which was, as it were, the “ common rendezvous of all Greece. “ Only the people of Elis were ex- “ cluded from it. They durst not “ assist at it, for fear they should “ feel the effects of the imprecations “ that Molione, the wife of Actor, “ had pronounced against those of “ that nation, who should take part “ in these public rejoicings. Pau- “ sanias relates this story at large. “ And notwithstanding what Plu- “ tarch says of it, in the place just “ now quoted, Syphilus king of Co- “ rinth had the honor of the insti- “ tution. Most of the Greek wri- “ ters confess, that Theseus was only “ the restorer of them. The most “ general opinion is, that the mis- “ fortunes of Ino gave rise to this “ feast. This woman, in a fit of “ phrenzy, or as others, to avoid “ the rage of her husband Athamas, “ threw herself into the sea with her “ son Melicertes. The waves car- “ ried the body of the child to the “ shore, and it was taken up and “ buried by Syphilus. At the same “ time, a violent plague laid the “ territory of Corinth desolate. In “ this extremity therefore, the Co- “ rinthians consulted the oracle of “ Apollo; and were answered, that “ in order to get a stop put to the “ distemper, they must celebrate fu- “ neral games in honor to Melicer- “ tes, who was afterwards worship- “ ped, under the name of Palæmon, “ and placed among the sea-gods. “ The prize assigned to the con-


“ querors in these games, was a “ crown of pine or myrtle. After- “ wards, there were some parsley- “ leaves put into this crown, as at “ the Nemæan games. In the mean “ time, Solon made a law, which “ fixed the reward of the conqueror “ to an hundred drachmæ. Plu- “ tarch says, that by Theseus’s or- “ der, the Corinthians were obliged “ to give the first place to the Athe- “ nians. Add to this, that a regard “ to religion, and a love for shews, “ were not the only motives for in- “ stituting these games. There was “ policy in it. The design of the “ institutors was to assemble toge- “ ther in one place, different nations “ all independent of one another, “ and for the most part, more di- “ vided in interests, than in place; “ and to unite them all together, by “ the ties of common sacrifices.”

<sup>a</sup> “ This name was given by way “ of eminence to the festival cele- “ brated in honor to Ceres, in Eleu- “ sis, a city of Attica, west of A- “ thens, on the Saronic gulph, be- “ tween Megara, and the port of “ Piræum. It was the most pom- “ pous festival celebrated in Greece. “ The Athenians, who boasted of “ having been the inventors of agri- “ culture, pretended to have been “ taught the art of cultivating the “ earth by Ceres, in return for the “ hospitality they shewed this God- “ dess, when she was searching for “ her daughter Proserpine. And “ the nations of Attica, in grati- “ tude for it, eterniz’d the memory “ of so great a benefit, by institut- “ ing a solemn festival in honor to “ Ceres. The Egyptians indeed con- “ tended, that the Greeks learnt



CHAP. XXXIII.  proconsul obtained a naval triumph over the Illyrians on the thirtieth of june, and beheaded the principal men of that nation after they had been first led before him in a triumphal procession. This was the first triumph obtained over them. The year following, in the consulate of P. Valerius Flaccus, son of Lucius and grandson of Marcus, and of M. Atilius Regulus, whose father and grandfather had the name of Marcus, the number of prætors was doubled, and they thought proper to chuse four in order to send one to govern Sicily and another Sardinia. The latter fell to M. Valerius, to whom they likewise gave the government of Corsica, and C. Flaminius had the former. And now indeed they began to be afraid in earnest of an irruption of the Gauls; for it was currently reported that the Boians and Insubrians had not only entered into a confederacy among themselves, but that they were tampering with the Transalpine Gauls, and had hired a great number of those called Gæfataë<sup>b</sup> to serve them.

P. Val.  
Flaccus and  
M. Atilius  
Regulus  
consuls.  
Y. of R. 525.  
B. J. C. 227.

CHAP. XXXIV.  IN order to avert this terrible storm, they not only had recourse to the remedies that are usual in such cases, but also made use of other means, which nothing could excuse before impartial judges, but the love of their country, and the excuses that are sometimes made for actions proceeding from this principle, which otherwise would be looked upon as criminal. For

“ the forms of these sacrifices from  
“ them; and that Erechtheus, a  
“ king of Athens, who was born in  
“ Egypt, carried these ceremonies  
“ from the place of his nativity to  
“ this kingdom. And this account,  
“ which we have from Diodorus Si-  
“ culus, agrees with the testimonies  
“ of Pausanias, and Herodotus. They  
“ both say, that the Greeks borrow-  
“ ed most of their religious ceremo-  
“ nies from the Egyptians. Thus  
“ Lactantius and Phavorinus have  
“ observed, that the mysteries of  
“ Isis greatly resembled those of  
“ Ceres; and Theodoret has observ-  
“ ed the same thing. The Ceres  
“ of the Greeks, was according to

“ Sir Isaac Newton, a woman of  
“ Sicily, who came into Attica, and  
“ taught Triptolemus, the son of  
“ Cæleus king of Eleusis, to sow  
“ corn, about the thirtieth year of  
“ king David's reign, or the year  
“ before Christ 1030. She died,  
“ and was deified for this benefaction  
“ about the year before Christ 1007  
“ by Celeus and Eumolpus, who in-  
“ stituted the Eleusinia Sacra to her  
“ with Egyptian ceremonies, and e-  
“ rected a sepulcher or temple to  
“ her, in Eleusis. ch. p. 15—18  
“ 134—136.

<sup>b</sup> They were so called from a heav-  
kind of javelin which they used  
called gæsum.

beside



besides other calamities wherewith Gods and men CHAP.  
threatened them, upon consulting the Sibylline books XXXIV.

they found “ that the Gauls and the Greeks should  
“ seize the city of Rome ;” and in order to avert  
the evils threatened in this prediction, by an artful  
interpretation, in the consulate M. Valerius Messala,  
whose father and grandfather had the name of Mar-  
cus, and of L. Apustius Fullo, the son of Lucius  
and grandson of Caius, by virtue of an order from  
the priests, they buried a Gallic man and a Gallic  
woman, and likewise a Grecian man and a Grecian  
woman, alive in the ox-market, that by putting  
them in possession of some part of the city in this  
manner, they might seem to have verified the pre-  
diction. Besides affairs of lesser moment, this year  
was employed in making vast preparations for the  
Gallic war, which was upon the point of breaking  
out. All Italy took part with the Romans, so that  
an incredible number of horse and foot were raised  
at this juncture. Q. Fabius the historian, who served  
in this war, says, “ that the number of them a-  
“ mounted to eight hundred thousand.”

M. Val.  
Messala and  
L. A. Fullo  
consuls.  
Y. of R. 526.  
B. J. C. 226.

THAT the Romans and Campanians made up CHAP.  
two hundred forty-eight thousand two hundred foot XXXV.  
and twenty-six thousand six hundred horse, and the  
rest were furnished by the several nations of Italy.  
Even the Venetians and Cænomanians assisted the  
Romans with twenty six thousand men, who were  
ordered to ravage the lands of the Boians their neigh-  
bors, and so for fear of having their country de-  
stroyed oblige them to stay at home, and thereby  
prevent their joining the allied army, seeing the Ro-  
man deputies could not prevail upon them to remain  
neuter. For though those nations were prevailed on  
to renew their friendship with the Romans, the  
Boians and Insubrians persisted in their hostile inten-  
tions and continued their warlike preparations. How-  
beit their forces were divided, for their kings durst  
not venture to take them all with them, but were



obliged to leave a part of their youth to defend their territories.

CHAP.  
XXXVI.

L. Æmilius  
Papus and  
C. Atilius  
Regulus  
consuls.  
Y. of R. 527.  
B. J. C. 225.

WITH the remainder of their troops, amounting to fifty thousand foot and twenty thousand horse, they took their rout through Hetruria towards Rome. In the mean time the consuls L. Æmilius Papus, the son of Quintus and grandson of Cneius, and C. Atilius Regulus, whose father and grandfather had the name of Marcus, had got Sardinia and Ariminum with the part of Gaul adjoining to it assigned them as their provinces. For the Sardinians galled to see a Roman prætor residing among them, and the fasces, to which they had never been accustomed, constantly before their eyes, had made an insurrection, which the consul Atilius quelled with very little difficulty. L. Æmilius found it a harder matter to stop the progress of the Gauls, who had forced their way through Hetruria and were marching directly to Rome. The prætor, to whom that province was intrusted, having attempted in vain to hinder their passage through it, came up with them nigh Clusium when it was drawing towards night, and pitched his camp not far from theirs. The Gauls, in order to draw the Romans to battle, made use of the following stratagem. All their foot marched to Fæfulæ<sup>a</sup> in the night, leaving their cavalry behind with orders only to shew themselves to the enemy, and then immediately retire to the foot, who would be posted in a proper manner for their reception, and afterwards fall upon the enemy at a disadvantage and put them in confusion.

CHAP.  
XXXVII.

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AND this artifice so far imposed upon the Romans that they pursued them with all the haste they could. But when they came to Fæfulæ they were met by the enemy fresh and ready for battle, and

<sup>a</sup> The antients speak of Fæfulæ, as one of the most antient and most considerable cities in Hetruria. It stood at the foot of the Apennines, in the valley of Mugella, which the natives now call Val di Mugello. This

city, which was first a colony, and then a municipium, now retains nothing of it's former splendor. Nothing remains but the ruins of it in the town of Fievoli, three miles from Florence.



then indeed they knew not how to behave, being quite surprized and tired with running. The only thing they could do was either to defend their lives by the sword or to sell them to the enemy, and accordingly they resolved to do it. The Gauls besides other advantages were likewise superior in numbers, so that the Romans, after the loss of six thousand men killed on the spot, fled to an eminence, the situation of which defended them against the enemy. The Gauls endeavored to make themselves masters of this place, but finding their strength exhausted with their march in the night and their fighting in the day, they retired to refresh themselves, leaving a party of their men to keep the place invested, in hopes that they would either voluntarily surrender next day, or that they would oblige them to it. At this critical juncture, L. Æmilius the consul, by a lucky accident, which could rather be wished for than expected, arrived with the army under his command. Upon the news of the march of the Gauls, he had been sent to defend the coast of the Adriatic sea; but when he heard that they had taken their rout to the city, he had left that place in all haste, and by the greatest good fortune in the world was come to Fæsulæ, and had encamped at a small distance from the enemy.

CHAP.  
XXXVII.

THE besieged judging from the fires, which they saw on that side, that their friends were arrived, sent some of their number to them unarmed, that they might the more easily pass unobserved by the enemy's guards. As soon as the consul understood the situation they were in, without long deliberation, which neither the affair nor the time admitted of, he advanced with his cavalry to the eminence at day-break, ordering the tribunes to follow him with the legionary troops. The Gauls had likewise been apprized by these fires of the coming of the Romans, and held a council of war to consider what measures to take. King Aneroestus advised them "not to expose the army while over-

CHAP.  
XXXVIII.



CHAP. “ loaded with such vast quantities of rich spoils to  
 XXXVIII. “ an engagement with the enemy ; but return home  
 “ and leave their booty, and if they thought pro-  
 “ per to continue the war, they might return free  
 “ from every incumbrance.” They were all of his  
 mind, and accordingly set out before night and took  
 their rout through Hetruria along the sea-coast.  
 When L. Æmilius got intelligence of their march,  
 though he had joined the other Romans who had  
 fled to the eminence, yet he did not chuse to hazard  
 a general battle with the enemy, but resolved to follow  
 them, and to take advantage of any opportunity  
 which time might present him with.

CHAP. IN this situation of affairs, fortune did the Ro-  
 XXXIX. mans another unexpected piece of service. C. Ati-  
 lius the consul had sailed from Sardinia with the le-  
 gions for Pisa<sup>a</sup>, and having landed his men there  
 was marching to Rome along the coast of He-  
 truria, where the Gauls were retiring. The fore-  
 most men of both armies first met near Telamon<sup>b</sup>, a  
 port of Hetruria. After the consul had learnt from  
 some prisoners that were brought him, the rout  
 of the enemy, and the resolution of his colleague to  
 pursue them, he was surprized at this unexpected  
 event, and filled with mighty hopes upon finding  
 the Gauls enclosed between two consular armies, or-  
 dered the tribunes “ to draw up the army in order  
 “ of battle, and advance to attack the enemy in a  
 “ square battalion as far as the nature of the ground  
 “ would permit them.” He himself having ob-  
 served an eminence which commanded the road by

<sup>a</sup> According to Pliny and Strabo, Pisa was founded by a colony of Greeks, who came from another city of Pisa, in Peloponnesus, on the banks of the river Alpheus. And according to Dion. Hal. b. i. Pisa in Hetruria must have been founded several ages before the Trojan war. But be that as it will, it is certain this has always been ranked among the most considerable cities in Italy. The convenience of it's port near the

mouth of the Arno, and the fruitfulness of it's territory, are known to all the world.

<sup>b</sup> Eight miles from the mouth of the Ombrone, is the ancient port of Telamon, which yet retains it's old name, and is called Telamone. This was the name both of the city, and the neighboring promontory. Diodorus makes one of the Argonauts, named Telamon, to have been the founder of this city.



which the Gauls were obliged to pass, made haste to seize it with his cavalry. His design was to fight the enemy as soon as possible, being certain that if he should be hard put to it, his colleague would come to his relief, and if he should be so happy as to beat them, he would have the greatest share of the glory to himself.

THE Gauls, perceiving some of the enemy's troops on the rising ground, imagined they were some detachments of horse which L. Æmilius had sent to seize these posts in the night, and accordingly they ordered their cavalry with a party of their light-armed foot to go and clear the passage. But getting information from the prisoners that the other consul was arrived, they were instantly obliged to draw up their army with two fronts facing the enemy behind and before, and their backs turned to one another. For they saw C. Atilius ready to attack them in the front, and they knew that L. Æmilius followed them in the rear. Against the latter, they placed in the first line the Transalpine mercenaries, who from the name of their arms are called *Gæsatae*, and the Insubrians behind them as a body of reserve, but the Tauriscans<sup>a</sup> and Boians were drawn up against the troops of Atilius. After that, they enclosed both their wings with their chariots and waggons, and sent the booty with a sufficient guard to a hill that was nigh them. The battle was already begun at the eminence which C. Atilius had seized, and from this L. Æmilius inferred that his colleague was come, although he had no certain accounts of his arrival, but had only heard that he was landed at Pisa.

WHEREFORE taking his measures according to what the time required, he likewise commanded his horse to gallop to the hill where the armies were engaged. Here the cavalry on both sides fought with the greatest ardor. The consul C. Atilius was killed and his head carried to the kings of the Gauls. At

<sup>a</sup> Grisons.



CHAP. last, the Romans exerting all their strength repulsed  
 XLI. the enemy and remained masters of the eminence. The battle between the horse being thus decided, the foot engaged. Then indeed the action was terrible, whether we consider the number and courage of the combatants, or the disposition of the armies. Because as the Gauls were hemmed in between two Roman armies and were obliged to face both, it was not easy to judge, whether their situation was an advantage to them or not. For as the enemy's forces were divided, by facing different ways, they secured themselves from being attacked in the rear, and as they were enclosed between the Roman armies, they had no hopes of escaping by flight, and this thought excited them to exert their utmost courage. Besides the rich dress and gigantic stature of the enemy in the first line partly terrified the Romans, and they were partly encouraged to fight not only by a desire of glory, but also by the prospect of rich spoils, every Gaul in the front of the battle glittering with collars and bracelets of gold.

CHAP. ACCORDINGLY when the battle began, the  
 XLII. light armed soldiers at first made a dreadful slaughter of the enemy, especially of the Gæſatæ who through foolhardiness and a vain barbarous ostentation threw off their clothes and stood naked before the foremost ranks of their army. For as the Gallic shields which were very long and narrow could not cover their bodies, they were exposed as so many sure marks to the Roman slingers, and fell without revenging themselves, because they could neither annoy the enemy at a distance, nor engage with them hand to hand, on account of their light armor. Upon seeing themselves in this desperate situation, some rushed forward to fall upon the enemy, but were killed by their darts before they came up to them, and others of them retiring slowly put their men in confusion. The line of the Gæſatæ being thus routed by the light armed soldiers, the legions fell upon the Boians, Insubrians and Tariscans on all sides, and put a great number of them to the sword.

HOW-



HOWEVER they made a gallant stand and were inferior to the Romans in nothing but in the arms they made use of, with which they could neither stab the enemy nor ward off their blows. For the Gallic sword being only made to cut by downright blows, is not pointed; besides it bends at the first stroke and do the rest no execution, except it be made strait again with the foot. The Romans had hopes of gaining the day, when the return of their cavalry fairly decided it in their favor. For after they had put the enemy's horse to flight, they attacked the Gauls in the flank, and that with the greater violence, because they came down upon them from the higher ground. Such was the issue of the action between the Romans and Gauls in Hetruria according to Polybius, from whom other authors differ but with little appearance of probability. For who can be so credulous, as to imagine that a storm should arise and oblige the Gauls to fly in the night time, as being afraid of the vengeance of the Gods? Or that C. Atilius lost his life in making an attack upon the rear of the fugitives? Or that after the armies had remained unactive for some days, each upon an eminence, they should come to a battle and that L. Æmilius should gain the day?

CHAP.  
XLIII.

NEITHER do those historians deserve more credit, who have placed the field of battle at a distance from the sea coast in the territory of Aretium. All accounts agree that the Gauls had forty thousand men killed, and no less than ten thousand taken prisoners, with Concolitanus one of their kings. Aneroestus another of their princes, the most considerable man among them, both for power and courage, having escaped with a few of his guards, in his flight first killed his relations and after that cut his own throat. By this defeat, the consul recovered a prodigious booty, which he caused to be restored to the owners, each person knowing his own goods. From thence he led his own troops and those of Atilius, along the frontiers of the Ligurians into the country of

CHAP.  
XLIV.



CHAP. of the Boians, which he allowed them to ravage at  
 XLIV. pleasure, and granted them all the plunder as a re-  
 ward, for the great service they had done the re-  
 public. A few days after he returned with the le-  
 gions to Rome glutted with spoil, where they were  
 received by all ranks with a joy proportionable to the  
 great dread they had been under from this war. Ac-  
 cordingly there was hardly ever any triumph cele-  
 brated with more universal applause; besides it was  
 very remarkable both for the greatness of the victory,  
 the number of the prisoners and the value of the  
 spoils carried before the general.

CHAP. THERE were among them many military stan-  
 XLV. dards and a prodigious number of chains and brace-  
 lets of gold, which among the Gauls are the chief  
 ornaments of brave men. But what drew the eyes  
 of all the spectators most, was Britomarus and the  
 other principal men of the Gauls, whom L. Æmilius  
 in derision carried completely armed to the capitol,  
 to make them fulfil the oath which they had sworn,  
 “ that they would not loose their sword-belts, before  
 “ they had mounted the capitol.” L. Æmilius the  
 consul celebrated his triumph over the Gauls on the  
 fifth of march. The same year, I find the censors  
 Q. Claudius Centho, son of Appius and grandson  
 of Caius, and M. Junius Pera, whose father and grand-  
 father had the name of Decius, closed the forty second  
 lustrum. The Romans had nothing to fear from the  
 Gauls, but their revenge was not yet satisfied; where-  
 fore they gave that country for a province, to both  
 the consuls for the following year. They were T.  
 Manlius Torquatus, whose father and grandfather  
 had the name of Titus, and Q. Fulvius Flaccus,  
 son of Marcus and grandson of Quintus, both for  
 the second time. They chearfully furnished them  
 with troops, and every thing necessary both for re-  
 newing and carrying on the war. For they were in  
 hopes, after the gaining of this important victory,  
 if they would make a bold push, they might be able  
 to drive the Gauls out of all the country about the  
 Po.

T. Manlius  
 Torquatus  
 and Q. Ful.  
 Flaccus  
 consuls.  
 Y. of R. 528.  
 B. J. C. 224.



THE consuls were no sooner come thither with their forces, but the Boians were so terrified that they immediately submitted to them, but during the rest of the campaign they did not proceed with the same vigor, by reason of the plague and the continual rains that fell during the remaining part of their expedition. Some historians give an account “ that “ these consuls crossed the Po<sup>a</sup> and engaged the “ Insubrians in a pitched battle; that they kill- “ ed twenty three thousand of them, and took five “ thousand prisoners.” But in these matters, we give more credit to the authority of Polybius. In the mean time, as the consuls were at such a distance from Rome, and were detained either by the war or hindered by the stormy weather, from returning to hold the comitia, L. Cæcilius Metellus, son of Lucius and grandson of Caius, was nominated dictator for that purpose, and he appointed N. Fabius Buteo, whose father and grandfather had the name of Marcus, to be his general of horse. The persons promoted to the consulate in the comitia, were C. Flaminius, the son of Caius and grandson of Lucius, and P. Furius Philus, son of Spurius and grandson of Marcus. These generals, in my opinion, were the first of the Romans who crossed the Po with an army, where the Padusa<sup>b</sup> empties itself into this river, after they had made an irruption into the country of the Insubrians. But this bold adventure cost them a great deal of labor and bloodshed, for as they were passing the river and encamping themselves, the enemy fell upon them briskly and killed great numbers of their men.

L. Cæcil.  
Metellus  
dictator,  
N. F. Buteo  
general of  
horse.

C. Flaminius  
and P. Fur.  
Philus  
consuls.  
Y. of R. 529.  
B. J. C. 223.

BUT the uneasiness which these bad news occasioned at Rome was exceedingly increased by stories that were told of prodigies; for it was reported, “ that in Picenum the river had run with blood; in


CHAP.  
XLVII.


<sup>a</sup> The Po rises in mount Vesulius, now Veso or Viso. It is formed by three streams, which flow from this mountain. After it has run through a vast extent of country from west to east, it discharges itself into the Adriatic sea, by seven dif-

ferent streams. One of the largest was formerly called Padusa, which was that branch of the river which the natives now call Il Po d'Argenta. The port it makes near it's mouth, is called Porto Primaro.

<sup>b</sup> See preceding note.



CHAP. XLVII.  "Etruria the heavens seemed to be on fire; at Ariminum it had been as light in the night, as if the sun had been shining, and that three moons had been seen at the same time; and at Rome a Vultur had perched in the forum for several days." For the earthquake which happened about this time in Caria, and the falling of the Colossus of Rhodes, were supposed to have no connexion with the Roman state. The augurs, being consulted with regard to the other prodigies, declared "that there was some defect in the nomination of the consuls," and immediately the senate sent letters after them ordering them to return to the city. During this time, the consuls had concluded a truce with the Insubrians and evacuated their territories. After that being joined by the auxiliaries of their allies in the territories of the Cænomanians, they had begun to ravage the plains lying under the Alps. Upon this, the Insubrians being enflamed with resentment had taken up arms again, and having taken out of the temple of Minerva the standards called IMMOVEABLE, because it was not allowable to use them but in cases of the last necessity, they met the Romans with an army of fifty thousand men and resolved to give them battle.

CHAP. XLVIII.  ABOUT this time, the letters from the senate were delivered to the consuls. C. Flaminius, whether he guessed what their contents were, or had been informed before hand by some dispatches from his friends, persuaded his colleague "to engage the enemy before they opened them." And being thus determined to fight, the only doubt that remained was, how to dispose of the Gallic auxiliaries. If they should reject their assistance, they were "afraid of giving them some reason for doing mischief, and by employing them they were afraid of furnishing them with an occasion to do it." They dreaded the inconstancy of that nation, especially as they were going to engage with a people of the same name and blood. At last, they resolved to send the Gauls



Gauls over the river, and to break down the bridges. CHAP. XLVIII.  
 This put it out of their power to hurt the Romans, who, seeing no hopes left of escaping by flight, were forced to rely entirely upon their courage. After a smart action victory declared for them, but it was owing more to the prudence of the legionary tribunes than the conduct of the consuls. For C. Flaminius had drawn up his men so close to the banks of the river, that the cohorts had no room left to retire, and he would certainly have lost his whole army, if the enemy at the first onset had obliged them to fall back ever so little. But the legionary tribunes, who had learnt by their experience in former engagements, that the Gauls exerted all their strength at the first attack, and that if they were able to stand this charge, which was very smart, though but of short continuance, they had nothing afterwards to fear from them, placed the triarii in the foremost ranks with orders to ward off the enemy's blows with their halberts, and after that to throw down their spears and fall upon them sword in hand.

WHEN the attack begun the swords of the Gauls, CHAP. XLIX.  
 being struck against the halberts of the triarii, were bent and blunted with the first blow, and while they endeavored to straighten them, the Romans fell upon them with theirs, and quite disabled them from using them any more. For as the Gallic swords are only made for cutting, they require some room to draw the stroke, and if one comes within that space, they are rendered quite useless. But the Roman are made for pricking or stabbing at the smallest distance, and likewise when they are come close up to the enemy, they can cut them with them in the breast and face, while they cannot return the blows. The Gauls are said to have lost nine thousand men in this battle, and to have had double the number taken prisoners. After the victory, the legions laid waste the enemy's lands far and near, and carried off with them much booty. Then indeed they opened the senate's letters of revocation. Marius was



CHAP. XLIX. was of opinion, they should obey them, but Flaminius averred, “ that the senate had only recalled them  
 “ through a jealousy of their glory, and that there  
 “ was nothing unlucky in the auspices, of which  
 “ there could be no clearer proof than the victory  
 “ they had gained, and that he was determined not  
 “ to return to the city, till the war was either ended,  
 “ or the time of his consulship expired.” He further added, “ that he would order matters so, that  
 “ the Roman people should no longer be imposed  
 “ upon by a ridiculous observation of auguries and  
 “ other superstitions of that kind.”

CHAP. L. BUT as P. Furius persisted in his design, Flaminius’s army, considering they were in an enemy’s country, and being afraid they would not be able to defend themselves after he was gone, prevailed upon him to stay some days. However he would not act, though C. Flaminius in the mean time took some forts and a city, that was not at all inconsiderable among these nations, the plunder of which he granted to his soldiers, in order to secure their affections against the struggle which he foresaw he would have with the senate. For the minds of the people in the city were in such a ferment at the behavior of the consuls, that when they returned they did not go out to meet them as was usual, but even refused a triumph not only to C. Flaminius, but also to P. Philus on his account. But at last C. Flaminius by his interest among the commons carried his point, and entered the city in triumph on the tenth of march. A great quantity of spoil and arms were carried in this procession, besides a vast number of gold chains, of which he made a trophy and erected it to Jupiter Capitolinus, and thereby inverted the vow made by the Gauls, “ who had promised to present their God Mars with a chain  
 “ made of the Roman spoils.” After him, P. Philus triumphed over the Gauls and Ligurians on the twelfth of the same month.

BUT



BUT this rather encreased than allayed the resentment of the senate against these magistrates, nor was it softened till they were obliged to resign the consulship, which they did immediately after their triumphs.

CHAP.

LI.

About the same time, they treated two persons of the first quality in the republic with the same severity, by depriving them of the priesthood, M. Cornelius Cethegus, because he did not present the entrails in due form, and Q. Sulpicius, because his mitre had fallen off his head as he was sacrificing. When the consuls had quitted their office, the comitia was held by an interrex, and M. Claudius Marcellus, whose father and grandfather had the name of Marcus, was elected consul. And he, as soon as he had entered into office, chose for his colleague Cn. Cornelius Scipio Calvus, whose father and grandfather had the name of Lucius. These magistrates refused to grant the Insubrians the peace which they demanded. M. Marcellus in particular being eager to have the government of a province, and to gain a triumph, rejected with contempt all the conditions which they proposed. It is true, the Gauls themselves seemed more inclined for war than peace, because thirty thousand of the Gælatæ, newly taken into their pay, had crossed the Alps and raised a far greater number of the Insubrians.

M. Claud. Marcellus and Cn. C. Scip. Calvus consuls. Y. of R. 530. B. J. C. 222.

THE war having thus broke out afresh, the consuls early in the spring invested Acerræ<sup>a</sup>, a town lying between the Po and the Alps. When the Gauls found that it would be difficult to make the Romans raise the siege, Britomarus one of their kings, taking with him ten thousand men, resolved to ravage the country about the Po. As soon as the consuls got notice of this, they divided their army into two

CHAP.

LII.

<sup>a</sup> The ancient city of Acerræ, one of the chief cities in Insubria, stood on the conflux of the Adda, and the Serio, a little way from Cremona. The village now called Gherra, is the poor remains of that city. We must take care not to confound it

with another town of the same name, which was in Campania, on the banks of the Clanio, near Sueffula. Virgil speaks of it, in his second georgic.

—Et vacuis Clanis non æquus Acerris.



CHAP. LII. bodies; so that Cornelius with one of them was to continue the siege, and Marcellus, with two thirds of the horse and some choice light armed foot, was to assist the allies. He chose out exact six hundred, of the nimblest of the foot, and with these and his cavalry marched night and day without stopping, till he came up with the enemy at Clastidium<sup>a</sup>. He intended to have allowed his men some time to rest themselves, but was obliged to fight instantly through the ardor of the Gælatæ, who relying upon their numbers and the superiority, which they imagined their cavalry had over that of the Romans, and hearing that the consul had only brought with him a few foot, they raised the siege of Clastidium and came furiously to attack him, in hopes of being able to crush him at one blow. M. Marcellus, to prevent his being surrounded by the enemy's numbers, extended his front as far as he could and advanced to meet them. The armies were near one another, and he was preparing to charge the enemy, when his horse frightened with the shouts and noise of the Gauls turned tail and ran away with him.

CHAP. LIII. THE consul being afraid that this accident, being looked upon as a bad omen, might discourage his men, turned his horse towards the sun, and addressed his prayers to him, as if he had done it on purpose, and according to the custom of the antients<sup>a</sup>, who always

<sup>a</sup> Plutarch places Clastidium in Cisalpine Gaul: But Livy places it among the cities of Liguria Montana. Which can only be reconciled by saying it stood on the borders of both provinces. It was then so inconsiderable, that Plutarch does not think fit to give it the name of a city. According to him, it was only a small town between the Po, and the Alps.

<sup>a</sup> Plutarch tells us, that this way of worshipping the Gods, by turning round, was enjoined by Numa. And the Gauls had this custom among them, as well as the Romans, only

with this difference, that the latter turned to the right, the former to the left. It is not easy to guess, for what reason Numa enjoined this ceremony. Some imagine, his design was to represent the orbicular motion of the heavens, the habitation of the Gods, according to Pagan principles. But Plutarch thinks it had a reference to the scites of ancient temples. According to the rites of paganism, it was necessary they should look eastward. So that those who came to offer up their prayers and vows in them could not enter them without looking to the west,



always turned their faces that way, when they addressed themselves to the Gods. For they say that before the first attack, he vowed to offer to Jupiter Feretrius the finest of the enemy's armor; and that immediately after, upon observing Britomarus at the head of his Gauls in arms most curiously adorned with gold and silver, and beautifully painted with divers colors, he judged that these were the arms which he must present to Jupiter. This prince too, as soon as he spied the Roman general advancing a good way before his men, both by his voice and gesture challenged him to enter the lists with him. Marcellus lost no time, and having pierced the prince's breast plate with his lance wounded him, and seeing him thrown to the ground, by the kicking of his horse that was pricked at the same time, redoubled his blows and slew him. Then he alighted off his horse, and holding the arms in his hands looked up to heaven, and said, " Jupiter Feretrius, who be-  
" holdest the gallant behavior of brave men in  
" combat, I am the third Roman general, who,  
" having slain the commander in chief of the ene-  
" my, consecrate to thee these rich spoils. Grant  
" us to finish this war with the same success and  
" glory."

AS soon as he had mounted his horse, both armies engaged with the utmost vigor, the Romans performed wonders, being animated not only to fight gallantly by the courage and success of their general, but also to hope for the victory. Accordingly neither the Gallic cavalry, nor the foot which had come to support them were able to stand the fury of the Romans, and by an instance of good fortune which is very uncommon, a very small number

west, or come out of them without looking towards the east. And these two motions made an entire round, according to this author. But it is more natural to say, that the Roman lawgiver designed to signify by this turning round, the immensity of the divine being, who has neither

beginning nor end, and whose power reaches beyond the bounds of the universe. Perhaps, adds Plutarch, this circular motion was an imitation of the Egyptian wheels, which were made to shew, that there is nothing stable in this world.



CHAP. LIV. obtained a most complete victory over a prodigious army. Marcellus having gathered up the spoils returned to his colleague, who, after he had made himself master of Acerræ where he had gotten a large quantity of provisions, had invested Milan the capital of the Insubrians. In the mean time he could scarce defend himself against the Gauls, who finding him engaged in the siege of such a populous and strong place, invested him in his camp. But the return of Marcellus soon changed the face of affairs. For as soon as the Gæsatae got notice of their king's death, they marched off, and the Milanese without assistance were not able to hold out long. Thus the consuls, having cut off a numerous army of the Insubrians, taken Milan and Comus, the other cities surrendered on capitulation, and the whole nation submitted and obtained terms of peace otherwise favorable enough; but they were obliged to pay a sum of money, and to give up a part of their lands to the republic.

CHAP. LV. M. MARCELLUS having finished his business obtained a most glorious triumph over the Insubrians, Gauls and the Germans on the first of March. This is the first time that we find any mention of the Germans in the Roman history. They were mercenaries from the nations on the other side the Rhine, and had come into Italy with their general Virodomarus or Britomarus who is the same. The prisoners of this nation and those of the Gauls, who were most remarkable for their size and stature, walked before the conqueror's chariot amidst the most precious spoils. The consul himself followed carrying the arms of the enemy's general, whom he had slain, which was a very uncommon sight, as a present to Jupiter Feretrius. After him came his army all clad in glittering arms, and celebrated the renown of their commander with songs and acclamations. In this order they proceeded to the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, where Marcellus alighting from his chariot, hung up the *opima spolia* in it; an honor which the fates



fates had granted to nobody since king Romulus. A. CHAP.  
Cornelius Cossus was the third and last that attained

LV.

to it. The Roman people beheld these arms with the higher pleasure, because the enemy were said to have vowed theirs to Vulcan. And so great was their joy on account of the victory, that the senate and people of Rome sent a cup of gold to Apollo at Delphos made of the Gallic spoils, and some of their arms to all the cities that were friends and allies of the republic. As to Hiero king of Syracuse besides his share of the spoils, they likewise sent him money for the corn, wherewith he had supplied them during the Gallic wars.

AFTER this a new enemy started up against the republic. The Istrians<sup>a</sup> infested the seas with their CHAP.  
piracies, and had taken some ships belonging to the

LVI.

Romans laded with corn. Both the consuls, P. Cornelius and M. Minucius Rufus, being sent against them, reduced many nations by force and others

P. Cornelius  
and M. Mi-  
nucius Rufus  
consuls.

submitted voluntarily. However I don't find that

Y. of R. 531.  
B. J. C. 221.

either of them obtained a triumph, because, I suppose, the victory cost the Romans a great deal of blood. This year a star appeared in Spain, which proved fatal to many cities and nations. It was Hannibal the successor of Hamilcar, of whose actions first and last we must give an account in the sequel, in a style suitable to the subject. In the mean time,

the new consuls L. Veturius and C. Lutatius ad-  
vanced with their troops to the Alps. But they

L. Veturius  
and C. Lu-  
tatius con-  
suls.

employed treaties rather than force, and thereby engaged many cantons of them, to enter into an

Y. of R. 532.  
B. J. C. 220.

alliance with the republic. Upon the back of this, a war broke out again in Illyria occasioned by the oppression of Demetrius the Pharian. For screening himself under the cover of the republic's friendship, he harassed the neighboring cities in a most arbitrary manner, upon which they all sent to Rome to complain of him. The power which the Romans had taken from Teuta upon her repeated revolts, and

<sup>a</sup> See above p. 36 of this volume.



conferred upon him, and his being guardian to king Pinneus, whose mother Tritenta he had married, made him look upon himself as a king, and he was become equally cruel and intolerable both to his subjects and neighbors.

CHAP.

LVII.



MOREOVER he endeavored to subject the nations of Illyria, that were in friendship and alliance with the Romans, under his own dominion. He sailed beyond the Lyssus, contrary to the express terms of the late treaty, with fifty armed barks, pillaged some of the Cyclades<sup>a</sup>, and from others extorted sums of money. By this time he had drawn over to his interest a part of the Istrians, who hated the Romans on account of the late war, and had obliged the Atintanians by force to declare for him. Neither did he pay any deference to the Romans, imagining that as they were already engaged in a war with the Gauls, and afraid of another with the Carthaginians, they would neither have strength nor time to revenge injuries done to their allies. He likewise expected powerful succors from Philip king of Macedon, because in the war which that king had with Cleomenes, he had marched to his assistance at the head of the Illyrian forces. For these reasons the republic declared war against him, and made preparations for carrying it on.

CHAP.

LVIII.



DURING these transactions, the cenfors L. Æmilius and C. Flaminius closed the forty third lustrum, in which two hundred seventy thousand two hundred and thirteen citizens were enrolled. A number of

<sup>a</sup> The name of Cyclades was formerly given to the islands in the Archipelago, because they form a circle round Delos, a little island revered by the ancients, for being the reputed birth-place of Diana and Apollo. These two Divinities had a stately temple in it. The inhabitants of all these islands sent to it every year a company of virgins, who celebrated the memory of these children of Latona, with dancing. And at the same time, they sent chosen persons to assist at the solemnity, and offer sa-

crifices in the name of the neighboring nations. Some rank among the Cyclades, the islands the ancients commonly called Sporades, because scattered about in the Ægean sea, at a greater distance from Delos, than the former. Among the fifty three Cyclades which the geographers reckon from Tenedos to Crete, there were twelve considerable ones, which we shall have occasion to mention hereafter. The rocks and shelves that surround them, make it difficult to come at them.

those



those who were the sons of slaves that had been enfranchised, being promiscuously divided among the several tribes, had hitherto occasioned much confusion; those the censors in imitation of Q. Fabius Maximus reduced into four tribes, the Esquiline, the Palatine, the Suburran and the Colline. In the same censorship, Flaminius paved the way <sup>a</sup> which leads to Ariminum and built a circus <sup>b</sup>. Both these works took their names from their author, being called the Via Flaminia and the Circus Flaminius. The same censors had interest enough with the people, to make them pass the Metilian law with regard to the dyers of cloth, and did not think it unbecoming the dignity of their office, even to take notice of such little things. At the same time, the

<sup>a</sup> It began at the gate Flumentalis, and reached one hundred and ninety four miles.

<sup>b</sup> According to Plutarch, in his Roman questions, it was so called from one Flaminius, who lived long before him who was censor in this year 533. He was a very rich citizen, says that author, who left the Roman people a very large field, on condition that they should annually celebrate Equestrian games in it, in honor to Apollo. And he gave a considerable revenue to defray the expences of the shew. Then, adds Plutarch, this field was made into the form of a circus; and because the sums allotted for it were much more than enough, the over-plus was employed in levelling and paving the great road, which was called the Flaminian way, or Via Flaminia. Our author vol. I. b. 3. p. 323. speaks of the Flaminian meadows, in which the tribes, and sometimes the senate, assembled: and expressly says, that from the year 300, this quarter, which was without the city, was called Circus Apollinaris. From thence the consuls, to avoid reflections, adjourned it to the Flaminian meadows, where now stands a temple of Apollo, but which were then called Circus Apollinaris. On the other hand, Florus, and among others Festus, give the honor of these new works

to Flaminius the censor. *Flaminius Circus & Via Flamina, a Flamini consule dicta sunt qui ab Annibale interfectus est, ad Lacum Tbrafinenum.* Nevertheless, these authors may be fairly so construed as to remove these seeming contradictions, and make them all of one opinion. We allow, with Plutarch, that the Flaminian meadows, and the man who gave them to the people, were in being almost as early as the establishment of the republic. We will also grant, That this place was, in these early times, thrown into the form of a circus; and, That the Romans had their chariot-races and horse-races there. And to this we will add, that it was then called Circus Apollinaris, from a little temple of Apollo, which stood near it, or in the Flaminian field. But we may, notwithstanding all this, affirm, That Flaminius the censor made it matter of merit, to repair or embellish a work which bore the name of his family, and which he looked on as a monument of the liberality of one of his ancestors. This circus stood near the herb-market. Those whom the republic, for reasons of state, forbade entering the city, lived there. The senate often assembled there, to treat with the ambassadors of the nations which were enemies to Rome.



M. Livius  
Salinator,  
and L. Æ-  
milius Paul-  
lus consuls.  
Y. of R. 533.  
B. J. C. 219.

revolt of the Illyrians made the senate commit the management of that war to the consuls, M. Livius Salinator whose father and grandfather had the name of Marcus, and to L. Æmilius Paullus the son of Marcus.

CHAP.  
LIX.

NOR was Demetrius slow in his preparations, for he put a strong garison into Dimalum<sup>a</sup>, and furnished with every thing that could enable it to stand a long siege. He put to death the governors of some towns whose fidelity he suspected, and put others in their place that were more strongly devoted to his interest. He raised six thousand men, the flower of all the kingdom, whom he kept with himself to guard the island Pharos. During these preparations L. Paulus the consul set out early in the spring for Illyricum, and having understood at his arrival that the enemy placed their chief confidence in the fortifications of Dimalum, which they judged impregnable, and imagining if he could make himself master of that place, it would intimidate the enemy, gave orders immediately to attack it, which his men did with so much ardor, that he took it by storm the seventh day after he sat down before it. The consul was not disappointed in his expectations, for the news of this conquest were no sooner spread through the country thereabouts, but all the cities immediately sent deputies to him, in order to surrender themselves and all their effects to the Romans.

CHAP.  
LX.

WHEN he had received their homage he proceeded to Pharos, where Demetrius kept his court. But upon information that the place was largely supplied with all manner of stores, defended by a garison of very brave men, and secured both by nature

<sup>a</sup> Though Polybius has not said enough of Dimalum in Illyricum, to determine the exact situation of it, yet it is evident from his account, that it stood on the confines of Macedonia. Some have thought that it was the same city which the ancient geographers call Delminium; and is

now called Dumno. But the latter was farther up in the country, near the river Drinus, or Ledrino, in Dalmatia. A situation which does not well agree with that of Dimalum, which Livy places at a little distance from Dyrrachium and Apollonia.



and art, and what was more, by the presence of the tyrant, he was afraid the siege would be tedious, and thereupon bethought himself of a stratagem which contributed much to hasten the conquest. For having transported the greater part of his troops into the island in the night, he made them lie concealed on some little hills covered with wood. On the morrow at day-break advancing himself to the port nearest to the town with twenty vessels, drew out the Pharians, and among the rest Demetrius run to hinder the enemy from landing. After they were engaged, more of the Pharians came every now and then, as generally happens in such cases, to support their party, till at last the town was left destitute of soldiers to defend it. In the mean time the Romans, who had landed in the night, marching under the covert of the woods had seized an eminence which stood almost in the middle between the town and the port, and thereby stopt up the passage, so that they who had come out of the city could not return to it.

CHAP.  
LX.

DEMETRIUS observing what passed, in this dangerous juncture, acted a part which was a testimony both of his conduct and courage. For he no longer opposed the enemy's landing, and drawing off his men, " Fellow soldiers, said he, you see the enemies are afraid of our bravery; for it is plain by their having recourse to stratagems, that they are diffident of their strength and arms. They have crept into this place under the covert of the night, of which, if I have a right notion of your courage, they shall possess no more but what they can cover with their bodies, and that purchased at the price of their lives. Do you then my Pharians, and you my brave soldiers, whom I have chosen from among all the youth of Illyricum, remember either your country or your glory, and shew the Romans it was not owing to our cowardice, that they once triumphed over the Illyrians. It was not the conduct nor the valor

CHAP.  
LXI.



CHAP.  
LXI.

“ of the consuls Fulvius and Posthumius that con-  
 “ quered them, but the temerity and extravagant  
 “ behavior of Teuta. And without mentioning  
 “ other instances, you are sensible, that they could  
 “ not have got the victory so easily, if the queen  
 “ would have employed me for her protector, and  
 “ not taken me for her enemy. But I forbear to  
 “ say any thing farther, because I have an entire  
 “ confidence in you, and the present juncture re-  
 “ quires actions more than words. You have cou-  
 “ rage, you have arms in your hands, you see such  
 “ a necessity as would even whet the courage of the  
 “ greatest coward. Your city and your lives are in  
 “ the greatest danger if you don’t dissipate it with  
 “ your swords. Come then, and with the assistance  
 “ of fortune, let us fall upon those who are come  
 “ out of their lurking places, without giving our-  
 “ selves any trouble about the troops who are land-  
 “ ing. For if we shall beat the first, the last will return  
 “ to their ships with more speed than they left  
 “ them.”

CHAP.  
LXII.

HAVING thus animated his men as the occasion  
 required, he led them on in good order to attack  
 the party of the Romans that had seized the hill.  
 They received them boldly and stood their charge,  
 till the soldiers who had landed, coming and falling  
 upon the enemy’s rear, put a great number of them  
 to the sword and routed the rest. A few of them  
 fled back to the town, others dispersed themselves  
 up and down and escaped through by-paths. De-  
 metrius who had vessels ready in some private creeks  
 against all events got on board one of them, and  
 escaped to Philip king of Macedon, who receiv-  
 ed him among the number of his friends. This  
 young prince had excellent qualifications, but De-  
 metrius by flattery and tyrannical counsels entirely  
 corrupted him, persuaded him to enter into the  
 war which he inconsiderately undertook against the  
 Romans, and betrayed him into many other cala-  
 mities. After this action, Pharos was instantly  
 taken,



taken, and by orders of the general it was plundered and razed. The consul having settled the affairs of Illyricum according to his mind, and the summer being over, returned to Rome to demand a triumph.

IN my account of this war, I have chose to follow Polybius, though I know very well that other historians ascribe the finishing of it to both consuls equally. They say that the Roman generals sent for Demetrius, and because he did not come to them, that they attacked him first in the island Issa, and conquered him by the stratagem above mentioned; that afterwards they made themselves masters of Pharus by treachery, and so drove Demetrius quite out of the country. Neither do these authors agree with Polybius, though he lived nearest the places and times where these things happened, in their account of this man's death; but we shall have occasion to take notice of it in the sequel. Howbeit the senate spared the Illyrians out of regard to king Pinneus, whom they knew by reason of his age to be innocent of all the ill designs of his tutor, and they renewed the former treaty with him, adding only a few new conditions. In the mean time L. Æmilius the consul obtained a most splendid triumph over these nations. Some historians say likewise that M. Livius obtained another on account of his success in the same war. However most of them take no notice of it; the reason of which I suppose is, because the exploits of L. Paullus being so much more illustrious than his colleague's may have obscured his glory and renown. But the trial which the same M. Livius soon after underwent, and the sentence that was passed against him made a far greater noise. He and L. Paullus were impeached before the people by their enemies out of spite. The indictment brought against them was, that they had not divided the plunder equally among the soldiers, but had kept a great part of it for their own use.

L. PAULLUS got off with the utmost difficulty, but all the tribes except the Mæcian condemned M. Livius.

CHAP.  
LXIII.

CHAP.  
LXIV.



CHAP. Livius. He took this affront so much to heart, that  
 LXIV. he left the city avoiding all commerce with his countrymen, till the necessities of the republic drew him back to his former course of life. But these things happened in the consulate of P. Cornelius Scipio and Tib. Sempronius Longus. In the year that M. Livius and L. Paullus bore that office, one Arcagathus the son of Lifanias came from Peloponnesus to Rome. This man set up for a physician, and on that account he had the freedom of the city given him, and a shop bought for him in the street Acilius at the public charge. I should not have thought this affair worth mentioning, if it had not been the first time that the profession of physic was heard of and practised at Rome, the people having hitherto preserved their health by temperance and medicines which cost them nothing. Under the same consuls, two colonies were planted in the country of the Gauls, one at Placentia and another at Cremona, which was one strong reason that induced the Boians and Insubrians to side with Hannibal, who at that time besieged Saguntum with the utmost vigor, intending by the destruction of this city to open himself a passage into Italy, and to make war upon the Romans. But the beginning of these disturbances, which successively fell upon the republic both in great numbers and with no less violence, must be traced a little farther back.

End of the THIRD VOLUME.



# A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE to the Third Volume of the ROMAN HISTORY, by TIT. LIVIUS of *Padua*.

| Year<br>of R. J. C. | Bef. | Consuls.                                    | Con-<br>sulat. | Page  | Year<br>of R. J. C. | Bef. | Consuls.                                    | Con-<br>sulat. | Page  |
|---------------------|------|---------------------------------------------|----------------|-------|---------------------|------|---------------------------------------------|----------------|-------|
| 445                 | 307  | Q. Fabius,<br>P. Decius.                    | 144            | 15    | 471                 | 281  | L. Æmil. Barbula,<br>Q. Mar. Philippus.     | 170            | 161   |
| 446                 | 306  | Ap. Claudius,<br>L. Volumnius,              | 145            | 19    | 472                 | 280  | L. Val. Lævinus,<br>Tib. Coruncanius.       | 171            | 181   |
| 447                 | 305  | P. Corn. Arvina,<br>Q. Mar. Tremulus.       | 146            | 20    | 473                 | 279  | P. Sulp. Saverrio,<br>P. Decius Mus.        | 172            | 205   |
| 448                 | 304  | L. Posthumus,<br>Ti. Minucius.              | 147            | 24    | 474                 | 278  | C. Fabricius,<br>Q. Æmilius.                | 173            | 210   |
| 449                 | 303  | P. Sulp. Saverrio,<br>P. Semp. Sophus.      | 148            | 26    | 475                 | 277  | P. Corn. Rufinus,<br>C. Junius Brutus.      | 174            | 215   |
| 450                 | 302  | Lucius Genucius,<br>Ser. Cornel. Cossus.    | 149            | 33    | 476                 | 276  | Q. F. M. Gurges,<br>C. Genu. Clepsina.      | 175            | 225   |
| 451                 | 301  | M. Livius Denter,<br>M. Æmilius.            | 150            | 34    | 477                 | 275  | M. Cur. Dentatus,<br>L. Corn. Lentulus.     | 176            | 234   |
| 452                 | 300  | M. Valerius,<br>Appuleius Panfa.            | 151            | 44    | 478                 | 274  | M. Cur. Dentatus,<br>S. Corn. Merenda.      | 177            | 241   |
| 453                 | 299  | M. Fulvius Pætinus,<br>T. Manl. Torquatus.  | 152            | 50    | 479                 | 273  | C. Fabius Dorso,<br>C. Claud. Canina.       | 178            | 242   |
| 454                 | 298  | L. Cornel. Scipio,<br>Cn. Fulvius.          | 153            | 54    | 480                 | 272  | L. Papirius Cursor,<br>Sp. Carvilius.       | 179            | 243   |
| 455                 | 297  | Q. Fabius,<br>P. Decius.                    | 154            | 58    | 481                 | 271  | L. Genucius,<br>C. Quinctius.               | 180            | 252   |
| 456                 | 296  | L. Volumnius,<br>Ap. Claudius.              | 155            | 62    | 482                 | 270  | Cn. Genucius,<br>Cn. Cornelius.             | 181            | 254   |
| 457                 | 295  | Q. Fabius,<br>P. Decius.                    | 156            | 79    | 483                 | 269  | Q. Ogul. Gallus,<br>C. Fab. Pictor.         | 182            | ibid. |
| 458                 | 294  | L. Post. Megellus,<br>M. Atilius Regulus.   | 157            | 97    | 484                 | 268  | P. Semp. Sophus,<br>Ap. Claud. Cæcus.       | 183            | 257   |
| 459                 | 293  | L. Papirius Cursor,<br>Sp. Carvilius.       | 158            | 108   | 485                 | 267  | M. Atilius Regu-<br>lus,<br>L. Julius Libo. | 184            | 259   |
| 460                 | 292  | Q. Fabius Gurges,<br>D. J. Brut. Scæva.     | 159            | 130   | 486                 | 266  | Numerius Fabius,<br>D. Junius Pera.         | 185            | ibid. |
| 461                 | 291  | L. Post. Megellus,<br>C. Jun. Brutus.       | 160            | 138   | 487                 | 265  | Q. Fabius Gurges,<br>L. Mam. Vitulus.       | 186            | 261   |
| 462                 | 290  | P. Cornel. Rufinus,<br>M. Cur. Dentatus.    | 161            | 144   | 488                 | 264  | Ap. Claud. Caudex,<br>M. Fulvius Flaccus.   | 187            | 264   |
| 463                 | 289  | M. Val. Corvinus,<br>Q. Cæd. Noctua.        | 162            | 146   | 489                 | 263  | M. Val. Maximus,<br>M. Ota. Crassus.        | 188            | 295   |
| 464                 | 288  | Q. M. Tremulus,<br>P. Corn. Arvina.         | 163            | 147   | 490                 | 262  | L. Post. Megellus,<br>Q. Mam. Vitulus.      | 189            | 299   |
| 465                 | 287  | M. Claud. Marcellus,<br>C. Nautius Rutilus. | 164            | ibid. | 491                 | 261  | L. Val. Flaccus,<br>T. Ota. Crassus.        | 190            | 306   |
| 466                 | 286  | M. Val. Potitus,<br>C. Ælius Pætus.         | 165            | 149   | 492                 | 260  | Cn. Corn. Scip. A-<br>fina,<br>C. Duilius.  | 191            | 310   |
| 467                 | 285  | C. Claud. Canina,<br>M. Æmil. Lepidus.      | 166            | 151   | 493                 | 259  | L. Cornelius Scipio,<br>M. Aquilius Florus. | 192            | 317   |
| 468                 | 284  | C. Servil. Tucca,<br>L. Cæcil. Metellus.    | 167            | 152   | 494                 | 258  | A. Atil. Calatinus,<br>C. Sulp. Paternus.   | 193            | 322   |
| 469                 | 283  | P. Corn. Delabelia,<br>Cn. Dom. Calvinus.   | 168            | 153   | 495                 | 257  | C. Atilius Regulus,<br>Cn. Corn. Blatius.   | 194            | 327   |
| 470                 | 282  | Q. Æmil. Papus,<br>C. Fabricius.            | 169            | 157   |                     |      |                                             |                |       |



# A Chronological Table.

| Year Bef.<br>of R. J. C. | Consuls.                                                                        | Con-<br>sulat. | Page | Year Bef.<br>of R. J. C. | Consuls.                                    | Con-<br>sulat. | Page  |
|--------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------|------|--------------------------|---------------------------------------------|----------------|-------|
| 496 256                  | L. Manlius Longus,<br>Q. Cædicius dies,<br>in his room M. Ati-<br>lius Regulus. | 195            | 330  | 514 238                  | Ti Semp. Gracchus,<br>P. Val. Falto.        | 213            | ibid. |
| 497 255                  | Ser. Fulvius Pætus<br>Nobilior,<br>M. Æmil. Paullus.                            | 196            | 237  | 515 237                  | L.C.Lent.Caudinus,<br>Q. Ful. Flaccus.      | 214            | 428   |
| 498 254                  | Cn. Cornelius Scipio<br>Afina,<br>A. Atil. Calatinus.                           | 197            | 353  | 516 236                  | P.C.Lent.Caudinus,<br>C. Licin. Varus.      | 215            | 430   |
| 499 253                  | Cn. Servil. Cæpio,<br>C. Semp. Blæsus.                                          | 198            | 355  | 517 235                  | C. Atilius Bulbus,<br>T. Man. Torquatus.    | 216            | 434   |
| 500 252                  | C. Aurel. Cotta,<br>P. Servil. Geminus.                                         | 199            | 357  | 518 234                  | L. Post. Albinus,<br>Sp. Carv. Maximus.     | 217            | 435   |
| 501 251                  | L. Cæcil. Metellus,<br>C. Fur. Pacilus.                                         | 200            | 360  | 519 233                  | Q. F.M.Verrucosus,<br>M. Pomp. Matho.       | 218            | 436   |
| 502 250                  | C. Atil. Regulus,<br>L. Manlius Vulfo.                                          | 201            | 361  | 520 232                  | M. Æmil. Lepidus,<br>M. Pub. Malleolus.     | 219            | 437   |
| 503 249                  | P. Claud. Pulcher,<br>L. Junius Pullus.                                         | 202            | 385  | 521 231                  | M. Pomp. Matho,<br>C. Papir. Maso.          | 220            | 438   |
| 504 248                  | C. Aurel. Cotta,<br>P. Servil. Geminus.                                         | 203            | 395  | 522 230                  | M. Æmil. Barbula,<br>M. Junius Pera.        | 221            | 440   |
| 505 247                  | L. Cæcil. Metellus,<br>Num. Fab. Butco.                                         | 204            | 398  | 523 229                  | L. Post. Albinus,<br>Cn.Ful.Centumalus,     | 222            | 443   |
| 506 246                  | M. Ota. Craffus,<br>M. Fabius Licinus.                                          | 205            | 400  | 524 228                  | Sp.Carvil.Maximus,<br>Q.F.M.Verrucosus.     | 223            | 448   |
| 507 245                  | C. Atilius Bulbus,<br>M. Fabius Butco.                                          | 206            | 407  | 525 227                  | P. Valerius Flaccus,<br>M. Atilius Regulus. | 224            | 450   |
| 508 244                  | A. Man. Torquatus,<br>C. Semp. Blæsus.                                          | 207            | 408  | 526 226                  | M. Val. Meffala,<br>L. Apust. Fullo.        | 225            | 451   |
| 509 243                  | C. Fudan. Fundulus,<br>C. Sulpicius Gallus.                                     | 208            | 409  | 527 225                  | L. Æmilius Papus,<br>C. Atilius.            | 226            | 452   |
| 510 242                  | C. Lutat. Catulus,<br>A. Post. Albinus.                                         | 209            | 411  | 528 224                  | T. Man.Torquatus,<br>Q. Ful. Flaccus.       | 227            | 458   |
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- Page 9. line 17. *order read orders.*  
p. 19. l. 14. *after army read at Alifæ.*  
p. 23. l. 8. *Alatrina read Alatria.*  
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